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EDITORIAL NOTE

This Special Issue of the Indian Museum Bulletin contains extremely useful materials for the researchers in Indology. The discovery of Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions in the lower Bengal region is a new chapter in the Indian palaeography and this has been ably dealt with by the discoverer and interpreter Prof. B. N. Mukherjee, an eminent authority in the field. The rich contents, supported by charts and photographs, will certainly benefit the students of Indian Epigraphy.

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KHAROSHŢĪ AND KHAROSHŢĪ-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS IN WEST BENGAL (INDIA)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

INDIAN MUSEUM
CALCUTTA
1990

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The authorities of different public and private collections (mentioned in Appendix I) have kindly allowed me to examine the relevant antiquities in their custody. The photographs of the objects utilised in this writing have been mainly taken by Messrs. A. Maitra, S. Chakravarti, B. Maitra, P. Mitra and P. Ghosh. The eyecopies of some inscriptions and individual letters have been made by Messrs. A. Maitra and A. Kasyapi on the basis of the drafts prepared by me. Mr. Kasyapi has also arranged the plates. A few interesting pieces of information have been supplied by Mrs. Himansu Prabha Roy of New Delhi. Dr. R. C. Sharma, the Director of the Indian Museum, Prof. Sukumari Bhattacharyya, Prof. S. R. Banerjee, Mr. A. Ghosh, Dr. K. Kundu, Mr. P. K. Mandal, Dr. G. S. De, Mr. N. Nath, Dr. Anasuya Sengupta, Mrs. Rita Datta, Dr. G. Sengupta, Mr. P. Mitra, Mrs. Sasvati Chakravarti, Dr. N. Goswami, Mr. S. Santra, Mr. P. Skilling, Mr. D. Pradhan, Mr. N. Ghosh, Mr. G. K. Ghosh and Mr. B. Biswas have helped me in various ways. The index has been prepared by Miss Samyukta Dutta.

I am grateful to all of them.

CHAPTER I

THE MATERIALS AND INTERPRETATIONS

NE of the major scripts of ancient India is called Kharoshti. For a long time scholars have misspelt the name as Kharoshthi. In one of the two old lists of scripts, where the name occurs, it is written as Kharostri, which has been emended as Kharosti. The form Kharostri is noticeable in the Mahāvastu Avadāna (7th bhūmi). In the other list, appearing in the Lalitavistara (10th adhyāya), the spelling is Kharoshti. Since the base of the name Kharosti, without the otiose r, is attested to as Khara'osta in a few sources, the former may be taken as the original form of the appellation of the script in question. It appears that the letters sa and ta are cerebralised in the form Kharoshti in a hybrid Sanskrit text like the Lalitavistara. This spelling (Kharoshti) may be preferred to the other (Kharosti), since the latter does not actually occur in either of the two lists. 1

As it has been already demonstrated, the political authority of the Achaemenids had forced the creation of Kharoshṭī (in c. 5th or 4th century B.C.) in the Indian provinces of their empire with the help of an official script like Aramaic and an indigenous script called Brāhmī, which had already been in use for writing Prakrit. It was "empire—placed" or "empire-put", i.e. "put or placed in the service of the empire" [Khara (< Kshathra) + ost - (< ostat) + i]. The purpose of the creation was perhaps to facilitate initially the Aramaic-knowing administrators' attempts at writing Prakrit in a script, which was based on Aramaic and would also be understood, with a little effort, by the native Prakrit speaking and Brāhmī using population.²

Though created in the Achaemenid age, regular Kharoshtī inscriptions known so far date from the period of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. Again, in spite of its official origin, it had been used for semi-official, private and religious purposes. In fact, it became a popular script and was even used for writing religious texts.³

The main area of its use was the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent (now divided into Pakistan and parts of Kashmir, the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana of India) and eastern Afghanistan to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush. Here it was in use up to c. 4th century A.D. After the Achaemenids, Greeks and Mauryas, the main political authorities in the zone concerned were the Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushāṇas and post-Kushāṇa rulers (including the Sasanids).4

Outside India Kharoshtī was employed by the Indian and Indianised communities (including rulers, traders and Buddhists) in certain areas of Central Asia like Khotan (in c. 1st century B.C. or A.D. and also in the 3rd-4th century A.D.?), the territory of ancient Shan-shan (to the south of Lop-nor) (in c. 3rd-4th century A.D.), certain localities in north Sinkiang or Xinjiang (in c. 7th century A.D.) (all in Chinese Central Asia) and in some areas to the north of the Oxus (mainly in c. 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.) (in Soviet Central Asia). Kharoshtī indeed became a vehicle for spreading Indian culture in Central Asia.⁵

The importance of Kharoshti in the history of Indian culture, especially of the development of writing in the Indian subcontinent, can hardly be overestimated. It was indeed a major script in ancient India.

A few Kharoshtī inscriptions have been discovered in the Mathura area,6 where it might have been employed by the Scytho-Parthian or Kushāṇa communities or some others hailing from the north-west. A terracotta plaque, found during an excavation at Kumrahar (in the Patna area of South Bihar), bears a Kharoshtī inscription and perhaps also a Brāhmī legend. The use of Kharoshtī in a Brāhmī-using zone has been explained by the assumption that the issuer of the plaque hailed from the north-western section of the subcontinent, the main area of the use of the alphabet in question.

B

The universally held view about the non-employment of Kharoshtī as a script regularly used by a community for at least some time in Eastern India can now be questioned. On April 29 of the year 1989 I noticed a fragmentary Kharoshtī inscription on a terracotta plaque in the Tamralipta Museum and Research Centre (Tamluk) (item no. 206) (fig. 1; no. 1 of our list of inscriptions furnished in Appendix I). It had been found at Parvatipur near Tamluk in the Midnapore district. Two clay pots inscribed with Kharoshtī legends were detected by me in the collection of Dr. G. S. De of Habra [24 Parganas, North] on May 28 of 1989 (fig. 2; no. 2 of our list of inscriptions). These had been unearthed at Hadipur near Chandraketugarh in the district of 24 Parganas (North).

Since then our search for Kharoshtī inscriptions of East Indian provenances in different public and private collections have made us acquainted with several Kharoshtī inscriptions found in West Bengal, namely in lower West Bengal. The collections so far examined by us are located (with one exception) in and near Calcutta.

The inscriptions in Kharoshti are noticeable on vessels (pots and jars), plaques, seals, etc., unearthed during archaeological excavations or as chance finds. The highest number of the relevant antiquities have been yielded by the Chandraketugarh area in the district of 24-Parganas (North). From the point of view of the manner of occurrence of Kharoshti, the materials so far seen by us can be divided into eight classes. Class I consists of (a) inscribed pots, (b) plaques, (c) seals, etc., (i) engraved with only Kharoshti letters, or (ii) stamped with the impressions of only Kharoshti characters. Some of these items, especially the seals, also bear devices. Class II is formed by a number of objects (mainly pots) engraved with Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī inscriptions. To class III belong the seals displaying Kharoshti inscriptions along with Brahmi legends. On these the Brāhmī legends (and devices) are stamped (with the help of matrices) and the Kharoshtī inscriptions are incised outside the stamped area or on the reverse side. Hence a Kharoshti legend on a seal of class III was incised with Kharoshtī letters after it had received the stamped impression(s), including the Brāhmī legend(s) concerned. This evidence suggests that the Kharoshtī script was employed in a regular Brāhmī using zone. Here the ordinary engravers of seal-matrices were not conversant with Kharoshti, letters of which were to be inserted on a seal after it had been stamped. Such a seal could have been issued only by a person knowing Kharoshti and belonging to a group which had originally migrated from a regular Kharoshti using zone like the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. The same observations may be made about some terracotta seals on which the incised legends (appearing in addition to Brāhmī inscriptions and/ or devices in regular impressions on one or both of the two sides) consist of Kharoshti and Brāhmī characters. These seals constitute class IV. Certain terracotta items (seals), belonging to class V, are stamped with the impressions of Kharoshti inscriptions as well

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s), ell as of Brāhmī legends and devices. A cube shaped object of this class displays a device and/or Brāhmī or Kharoshtī legend on each of the six sides. Several clay pots are incised with inscriptions in (a) Kharoshtī and (b) Kharoshtī and Brāhmī characters and sometimes also with Brāhmī legends. They may be assigned to class VI. Class VII includes terracotta objects (seals) carrying devices and inscriptions consisting of Kharoshtī and Brāhmī letters stamped on them and also sometimes bearing stamped or incised Kharoshtī and/or Brāhmī legends. A few of these items bear devices and/or legends also on the reverse side. To the last class, numbered VIII, we may ascribe some terracotta materials (seals) stamped with impressions of devices and Brāhmī legends and/or inscriptions consisting of Kharoshtī and Brāhmī letters on each of their two sides, and also incised with Kharoshtī legends (and occasionally also stamped with isolated Brāhmī letters) on their edge.

While the incised letters on these objects are generally readable with ease, the letters appearing in impressions are often blurred. The latter feature is perhaps due to improper stamping of the matrices on the clay objects and also due to improper firing of the impressed materials.

No doubt, for the sake of argument, the objects of class I can be taken as imports. But the evidence of the items of the other seven classes surely proves the use of Kharoshti in a predominently Brāhmī using zone like that of the territory of West Bengal. Moreover, the testimonies of the objects of four classes, numbered IV, VI, VII and VIII, betray a deliberate attempt to create a hybrid or rather a "mixed" script. We may call it, for the sake of convenience, the Kharoshtī-Brāhmī script.

The seals displaying impressions of Kharoshtī legends or inscriptions in Kharoshtī and Brāhmī characters were probably made in an area (or areas) and during a period which saw the native and/or immigrant die-cutters in a position to engrave on matrices Brāhmī and Kharoshtī letters (in reverse, so that these could come up correctly in positive impressions). This evidence also indicates the simultaneous use of the Kharoshtī and the Brāhmī scripts.

In the chronology of the earliest occurrences of the inscriptions belonging to the above noted classes those of class I (ii) (i.e. Kharoshṭī legends stamped on different materials) may be placed after class IV. The above classification is based on the nature of the occurrence of the Kharoshṭī inscription and not on chronological sequence. An inscription of class I may have been actually inscribed or stamped even after the inception of class VIII. Nevertheless, the earliest appearances of inscriptions of these classes (as suggested by the development of technological features betrayed by them) can be assigned to classes I(i), II, III, IV, I(ii), VI, V, VII and VIII and in the order mentioned here.

The objects bearing the seal impressions form the most significant section of the known corpus of the relevant inscriptions. From the point of view of the purpose of their issue, these objects can be taken as (i) personal badges, (ii) royal and/or administrative seals, (iii) traders' identification tickets, (iv) transport documents and/or sale licences, (v) seals of business communities, (vi) religious tokens (issued on the occasion of performance of religious rites), (vii) charms, (viii) items of fine arts displaying pictures and descriptive labels, etc.

We can here especially refer to a few round terracotta objects relating to class III. Of these the most well preserved specimen is the item no. T 4312 in the collection of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art (Calcutta University), Calcutta. At the centre of one side of this object appear a device and the Brāhmī legend sa 90 kāhaṇa. The upper parts of these letters are artistically drawn simulating ears of grain. A marginal legend seems to refer to a king. On the other side we can notice stalks of grain issuing out of a base and an inscription in the "Mixed" script referring apparently to the seal as issued by the wise men from Tīrajachaṭā [Tirajachaṭā B(o)dhihi]. On the edge of the reverse side an engraved Kharoshṭī inscription speaks of "a carrier of wealth" (sanagivaha) called Da'evañadami'a (Devajñātamitra) (no. 14 of the list of inscriptions in Appendix I).

The object in question apparently carries the seal of the ruler of a kingdom on one side and the seal of a local authority (represented by a body of wise councellors) on the other, permitting a merchant, whose name is engraved on the edge, to transport and/or sale a consignment of grain of the value of 90 kārshāpaṇas. The use of the "Mixed" script in the seal of the local authority alludes to the influence of the users of such a script in the administration of the locality in question.

C

Three distinct styles of writing can be noticed in the relevant Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscriptions. Some seal impressions on round or nearly round terracotta objects carry distinct and well formed letters (figs. 5, 6, 13, 19, etc.). These are obviously the results of stamping carefully well prepared lumps of clay with seal matrices of good quality. Similar observation may be made about the letters stamped or incised on a number of pots (figs. 4, 28, 30, 45, etc.). Apparently well-formed, but often indistinct (or blurred), characters are noticeable on a large number of seal impressions (figs. 9a, 16a-b, 17, 20a-b, etc.). The relevant matrices seem to have been stamped hastily on ill-prepared clay tablets before these were put into kilns for firing. Well-formed letters appear engraved on some seals, plaques and pots (figs. 20a-b, 40, 41, etc.). But the majority of these characters are now indistinct due to shallow depth of incision at the time of engraving and/or owing to their exposure to weather for a long time. Forms of the Kharoshti letters in these inscriptions conform by and large to those of the late Saka-Pahlaya and Kushāna records. The forms of the letters concerned may be assigned to a formal style of writing and group no. I. On some seals and pots the incised letters betray the tendency to be written in a slanting, and sometimes also angular, fashion (figs. 2, 3, 39, etc.). This feature distinguishes them as belonging to group II of the style of writing. To group III we may attribute the letters written cursively (and often also slantingly), as if produced swiftly by a fast moving hand (figs. 23, 37b, 43, etc.). The letters of the second and third groups sometimes betray departure from normal forms; but such deviations do not make the characters unrecognisable. Letters written in different styles are found in the same legend or in a group of legends on some relevant objects (figs. 24, 39, 41, etc.).

It is interesting to note that the Aramaic letter sin, which has so far not been noticed in the Kharoshtī script of the north-west, occurs in a variety of forms in a few of the relevant inscriptions (figs 9a-b, 13, etc.). Such occurrences need not cause surprise since Kharoshtī was basically derived from Aramaic and the character concerned was used in the Aramaic records of the north-west¹⁰ and also in the Parthian and Sasanian (Pahlavi) scripts in a neighbouring territory. Hence some of the emigrants from the north-west

might well have been in the habit of using that letter. It may be noted that not only \sin , but also iei(h), another Aramaic letter, appear in the short Kharoshti inscriptions on certain pillar-like blocks recently discovered at Chunar (U.P.). The latter character may have occurred also in a few of our inscriptions (figs. 71b and 74; see also p. 59).

Another character, which appears like a Greek phi, occurs in one of the seal inscriptions (fig. 9a-b). We do not know whether it was adopted to convey a particular sound (an emphatic ph) not indicated by a Brāhmī or Kharoshṭī pha.¹³ However, since it appears in a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription, it may better be taken as a variety of Brāhmī chhu (chha+medial u).¹⁴ On the other hand, we know of isolated occurrences of Greek phi (or Brāhmī chhu?) on seals (as the initial character of some names?).

In the "Mixed" script the Kharoshtī and Brāhmī letters did not loose their individual forms and identities. Little or no restriction seems to have been there on the choice of the Kharoshtī or Brāhmī variety of a letter occurring in both the scripts. However, Kharoshtī i, e, $\tilde{n}a$, da, tha, dha, dha, etc., appear to have been preferred to their forms in Brāhmī (probably for indicating sounds differing a little from those conveyed by their Brāhmī varieties in the territory concerned). Kharoshtī ja was used for conveying the sound of the Roman letter z (cf. Kujula > Kozolo on a class of Kushāṇa coins in the north-west).

In case of forming a compound letter consisting of two characters—one in Kharoshti and the other in Brāhmi—they were joined with each other with the second character being sometimes smaller than the first. For an example we can refer to the compound character gma used in the Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscription Karachhugmā (no. 9a; fig. 9a-b). Here the first element of the compound character is Kharoshti ga and the second element is Brāhmi ma (with the stroke for medial ā).

Some inscriptions in the "Mixed" script can be correctly read only if we accept the stroke generally used for medial e, attached to the top of a Kharoshtī letter, as indicating medial i (as should have been the case in a Brāhmī character). For an example we can refer to the letter dhi in the legend on a seal from Bangarh (fig. 5). An instance of the use of Brāhmī medial e with a Khoroshtī letter (sa) can be cited (fig. 6). In another instance the Kharoshtī variety of m seems to have been attached to the bottom of a letter which can be meaningfully deciphered as a Brāhmī ra (fig. 19; see also fig. 37a). Such examples indicate that in the "Mixed" script the signs for medial vowels and superscript or subscript consonants of one original script could be attached to letters belonging to the other. The habit of using the letters of both the scripts in the same word could have easily resulted in such reconciliation.

We may also presume that the ratio of use of Brāhmī letters in relation to Kharoshtī characters probably increased in course of time. At least this would have been natural in a predominantly Brāhmī using zone. That this was the case is suggested by several inscriptions in the "Mixed" script having only one letter (or two characters) in Kharoshtī and the rest in Brāhmī.

The most important Kharoshtī letter for dating the initial period of the use of Kharoshtī and Kharoshtī-Brāhmī in the territory of lower West Bengal is da. In its latest form the letter looks like a straight line written vertically or slantingly. This form occurs in only a few records of the north-west including the Takht-i-Bahi epigraph

of the year 103 (A.D. 45-46)¹⁵ and the record of the year 126 of the Azes Era (A.D. 68-69)¹⁶. On the other hand, in the inscriptions under review the relevant form of da is noticeable in almost all the cases of its occurrence. Hence the Kharoshṭī script was not introduced in the territory of lower West Bengal by the Kharoshṭī using emigrants from the northwest before the later half of the 1st century A.D. The beginning of the use of the "Mixed" script, including Kharoshṭī as well as Brāhmī letters, must be placed some time after the introduction of Kharoshṭī in the area concerned and so in a period not earlier than the late 1st or the 2nd century.

The Brāhmī letters in the Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions or in the Brāhmī inscriptions appearing along with Kharoshtī inscriptions on several types of objects palaeographically conform to the known forms datable to different periods from the 1st to the 4th or early 5th century A.D.¹⁷ (see chart no. II). We can especially refer to a form of the letter u in the impression of the seal of a king called Laḍhape'a (fig. 17a-b), the like of which is noticeable in the Dhanaidaha record of the year 113 of the Gupta Era (A.D. 432-33).¹⁷ Since this is the first dated or datable occurrence of the relevant form of da in the mid-eastern part of the Indian subcontinent, including the area of West Bengal, the seal of Laḍhape'a need not be placed before the early 5th century A.D.

These arguments tend to fix the period of the use of Kharoshtī in the territory now in lower West Bengal from about the second half of the 1st century to about the early 5th century A.D. The forms of the Brāhmī letters in the Kharoshtī-Brāhmī epigraphs or in the writings appearing by the side of the Kharoshtī inscriptions help us in dating approximately the individual objects bearing letters of both the scripts.

The direction of reading the relevant Kharoshtī inscriptions is from right to left as is the case with other known Kharoshtī writings. So such epigraphs were written in the same direction, i.e. from right to left. But a scrutiny of numerous Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions reveals that a sentence or at least a line in the "Mixed" script can be read meaningfully if the direction of reading is from left to right, in case of the initial letter being in Brāhmī, or from right to left, if it is in Kharoshtī. Hence the direction of writing the "Mixed" script was either left to right or right to left depending on the nature of the first letter of the sentence or the line.

The "Mixed" script was probably referred to as Vimiśritalipi ("Mixed Script") in a list of scripts in the *Lalitavistara*. It is dated to c. 1st or 2nd century A.D., and so can be placed precisely in a period which saw the development of the mixed script in question. However, for the sake of convenience we may call the script also as "Kharoshtī-Brāhmī".

The language of the inscriptions in Kharoshtī or in the "Mixed" script is Prakrit. But it clearly betrays features peculiar to North-Western or Gandhārī Prakrit¹9, in which the Kharoshtī inscriptions of the north-west are written. Among such features are the use of otiose r, retaining of three sibilants (sa, sha, śa) (though sometimes replacing one by the other) and dental na as well as cerebral na (notwithstanding occasional interchanging of their positions). In compounds r shows "great power of resistance". There is also a very marked tendency to aspirate certain letters (da>dha, stha>tha>dha, etc.). Voiceless as well as voiced unaspirates become voiced aspirates (ta>ta>da>dha; ga>gha).

On the other hand, impact of local Prakrit is discernible in certain respects, like

replacing ya by ja (yātrā > jātrā), occasional use of subscript y to indicate doubling (datta > datya; jajvi or jajji > jajyi), etc. If the initial letter of a word is a consonant the sign for medial o is often added to it [cf. modhula for madhura (fig. 22)]. Some of these characteristics (like replacing ya by ja, addition of medial o to the first letter of a word etc.) indicate a few phonetic peculiarities which are noticeable even in the modern Bengali pronunciations.

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It is now high time to point out that some seals bearing legends in what we propose to call Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī are known to scholars for a fairly long time. The first seal to come to light was a terracotta object unearthed during an excavation at Bangarh²o. Since then a few others have been noticed. These have been recovered mostly from the Chandraketugarh area. But the character of the script concerned has so far defied identification and it has been taken as undeciphered.²¹

We are here restricting ourselves to the reading of only two inscriptions in Kharoshtī and two legends in the "Mixed" script. However, readings of numerous other relevant epigraphs are furnished in Appendix I. These readings, we hope, will prove the veracity of our identification.

A round steatite (i) seal (with a diameter of 2 cms.) was unearthed at a level of period IV (1st to 3rd century A.D.) during an archaeological excavation in 1963 at Pandurajar dhibi (Burdwan district). It is now in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology (Government of West Bengal), Calcutta. It displays a wavy line (representing a river?), an aquatic animal with fins (?), and a phallus-like object (Sivalinga). Above these there is an inscription (fig. 3). M. Ridley considered it as consisting of some Linear A characters in reverse. He took the object as a seal-matrix and the inscription as referring to Aetea.²² The legend is, however, clearly in Kharoshṭī, engraved with a slanting style of writing. It can be read as Ya'añe dadava (fig. 3). It appears that the seal (mudrā) was meant "to be given during an act of worship or sacrifice or at a place of sacrifice" (Yajñe dātvayā) (inscription no. 3 of the list in Appendix I).

A fragmentary inscription on a potsherd, found in the Chandraketugarh area and now kept in the collection of Bhuban Museum and Art Gallery (Calcutta), can be deciphered as jayadha Makatreka Vajtrad(i) je dhadha (fig. 4). It refers to a victorious Brahmin called Vastra from Maka (Jayanto Makata eko Vastra-dvijah). Was he a Maga Brahmin winning religious debates?

The Bangarh seal mentioned above is now in the collection of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta (accession no. 1035). The round seal impression (with a diameter of $4\cdot 1$ cms.) displays stalks of grain issuing out of a vessel, flanked by a conch and a taurine symbol. There is an inscription on the margin. If it is read from outside and from left to right, the first two letters can be taken to represent Brāhmī sa, while the third, fourth and fifth can be deciphered only as Kharoshtī dha, dha and tha respectively. Dha in each case has a sign for a medial vowel. This can be considered as a medial e (as in the case with Kharoshtī) or as i (as in the case of Brāhmī). The next two characters are Brāhmī dha with the indication of medial \bar{a} and la with the sign of medial \bar{i} . The inscription can then be read as sasadhī (or dhe) dhi (or dhe) tha dhālī (fig. 5). If the medial sign connected with dha is i, then the inscription can be Sanskritised

as sasyādidhṛtasthālī, meaning "a vessel containing grain, etc." This reading and the interpretation correlate the inscription and the device of stalks of grain issuing out of a vessel.

A circular terracotta seal, from Chandraketugarh and now in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, has its diameter measuring 3-2 cms. It (no. CKG 183) displays a masted ship, flying a banner, a stalk of grains and a taurine symbol. There is a marginal legend, which can be deciphered if it is read from outside and left to right and is considered as consisting of Kharoshṭī as well as Brāhmī letters.

The first letter is Brāhmī ja with the sign for medial i. The second and the fourth characters represent Kharoshṭī dha, while the third letter is Brāhmī ta with subscript r. The following six letters are in Brāhmī and can be read as na, ju, śa, tra, sa and tri. The next three letters are in Kharoshṭī and may be deciphered as dhe, so and ja. The final character is Brāhmī ta with subscript r and the sign for medial \bar{a} . The inscription can now be read as fidhatradhana-fuśatrasa $tridhesojatr\bar{a}$ (fig. 6 a). The inscription can be Sanskritised as fitatradhana-fuśatrasa $trideśayātr\bar{a}$, meaning "the journey (or voyage) in three directions of (i.e. by) Yaśoda, who has earned food-wealth" (i.e., whose wealth is earned by selling food). The last letter of the word following fidhatradhana should be read as Brāhmī śa and not fi for making the legend sensible.

It appears that the seal belonged to a merchant who used to trade in food with outside world. This inference is supported by the device of a sea-going vessel appearing on the seal. The presence of a stalk of grains on the seal suggests that he was a trader in grain.

There is a groove on the back of each of the last two seals. It obviously indicates that the seal concerned was once attached to a fastener tagged on a consignment as a sort of identification ticket. This feature also supports the trading character of the seals and our reading of the legends in question.

A fairly large number of clay pots discovered at different sites in the district of 24-Parganas (North) are inscribed or stamped with personal names in Brāhmī and/or Kharoshṭī and/or Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī. Numerous vessels, unearthed during the excavation of a tank at Hadipur and now preserved in the Indian Museum, bear more than one name. If these names are taken to refer to potters, the pots carrying more than one name may be considered as products of kilns owned jointly by two or more persons. Vavava (or Vavaya), whose name occurs on several pieces of earthenware, could have been a well-known master potter and/or an entrepreneur engaged in production of pottery on a large scale (fig. 7). Pots of various shapes and sizes include copies of amphora and rouletted ware.

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It appears from the above data that one or more than one community from the north-western section of the subcontinent migrated to the territory of lower West Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian Era (c. 1st to 4th or 5th century A.D.). One of their new habitats was in the area of the Chandraketugarh in the district of 24-Parganas (North). Antiquities found here clearly betray its importance as an urban centre in the age concerned. Through this area flowed the Yamuna river which

branched off the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) in the neighbourhood of a locality in the district of 24 Parganas (North) or the Nadia district situated nearly opposite to the area including Bandel, Bansberia and Triveni (now in the Hooghly district). This branch of the Ganges flowed partly through the beds of the present Ichhamati and Padma and ultimately reached the Bay of Bengal through the Raymangal mouth. Its channel can be clearly traced on a map prepared by J. Rennel in the last quarter of the 18th century.²³ Thus the area was connected with North India as well as the sea by the river Ganges. We may perhaps locate at or near Deganga, a locality in the area concerned, the ancient town called Gange (or Ganges), mentioned as an emporium by the Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses and as a metropolis by Ptolemy.²⁴ Another habitat could have been the ancient port of Tāmralipti, which was probably in the neighbourhood of modern Tamluk (Midnapore district). A fragmentary Kharoshtī inscription (no. 206 in the Tamralipta Museum), a Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscription on a piece of bone (fig. 65), several inscribed postherds (fig. 49) and another seal bearing perhaps a legend in the "Mixed" script²⁵ have indeed been discovered in the Tamluk area.

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Parts of lower West Bengal (including its littoral area) and western sections of coastal Bangladesh were included in the early centuries of the Christian Era in a country called Ganges (Gangā) in foreign sources, and Vanga in Indian texts.²⁶ Parts of this territory to the west of the Bhāgīrathī could have been known also as Rāḍha or Suhma (Appendix III).²⁷

Largest concentration in lower West Bengal of the finds of early Bengal's archaeological artefacts and copper coins of the period concerned,²⁸ indicates economic prosperity among at least a certain class of people and the use of coin-money of low value for ordinary transactions. Agricultural base and exploitation of copper mines of the nearby Singbhum district²⁹ also gave fillip to commerce.³⁰ Moreover, the famous port of Tāmralipti could have a large hinterland in North India.

The cumulative testimony of several indigenous and Chinese texts indicates that in the early centuries of the Christian Era (up to c. 4th or 5th century A.D.) Vanga had direct or indirect trade relations through sea routes with some countries of South-East Asia, China, Śri-Lankā, Egypt and even certain ports of the peninsular and Western India.³¹ Articles of commerce were exported from ancient Gangā or Vanga country to the Roman empire through intermediaries. Tthere was no direct contact of the Roman sailors with the territory concerned.³²

The contact between Tāmralipti (of the Vanga country) and South-East Asia is suggested by the combined evidence of a passage in the Liang-shu and a statement of K'ang T'ai. According to the Liang-shu, during the epoch of the Wu dynasty in China (A.D. 220-280) a king of Fu-nan (Cambodia) sent an envoy called Su-wu to T'ien-chu (India). He first went from Fu-nan to the port of Chü-li (or T'ou-chü-li)³³, situated probably on the western coast of a portion of Malay peninsula now controlled by Thailand.³⁴ From there by a sea-voyage directly to the north-west Su-wu reached the mouth of the river of T'ien-chu. He returned with four horses of the Yüeh-chih country.³⁵ A statement by K'ang T'ai in his Fu-nan-chuan (as known from a quotation in the Shui Ching Chu) identifies the river of T'ien-chu with the Ganges and locates its mouth in the territory of Tan-mei³⁶ or Tāmra, i.e. Tāmralipti³⁷. Hence Tāmralipti must have been the port used by Su-wu in taking the horses of the Yüeh-chih country to South-East Asia.

The horses of the Yüch-chih country must have been the Central Asian animals of the Ta-yüan or Ferghana region.³⁸ Such steeds were sold to the merchants of the territory of the Yüch-chih or Kushāṇas and were brought to the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent through *inter alia* the route from Central Asia and via the Pamirs, Hunza, Gilgit, Chilas, Dasu, Mansehra and Abottabad to Taxila.³⁹ Numerous figures of horses do appear on the rocks in the Chilas area.⁴⁰ The Yüch-chih merchants, on their turn, made them trained and available at the markets in India.^{40a} Four of such animals received by Su-wu were brought to Fu-nan by a sea-voyage starting from Tāmralipti⁴¹ (in Vaṅga).

But Su-wu was not the only person responsible for importing "Yüch-chih" horses into South-East Asia. We can refer to an information of K'ang T'ai, apparently collected during his mission as an envoy of a Wu emperor of China to Fu-nan in c. A.D. 245-250 and now known from a statement in the T'ai-p'ing Yu-lan. It states that "the Yüch-chih merchants are continually importing them (horses) to the Ko-ying country by sea (on ship). The king buys them all. If one (of the horses) is dead during the voyage and has to be helped by its mane when it is shown to the king, the latter buys it at half-price". Le Ko-Ying or Chia-ying has been located by P. Pelliot in the littoral Malay peninsula and by O.W. Wolters on the east coast of Sumatra. The memory of the activities of the Yüch-chih horse dealers in South-East Asia is probably perpetuated in the representations of two personages clad in the Yüch-chih dress (?) along with a horse in an engraving on a drum found in the island of Sangeang off the coast of Sumbawa (of the Lesser Sunda islands to the east of Java) and dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Lesser Sunda islands to the east of Java) and dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Lesser Sunda islands to the east of Java)

The above quoted statement of K'ang T'ai, which humorously sets a price even on a horse which had died while being transported to Ko-ying, underlines the importance of this trade in horse to South-East Asia. This trade became also important to the kingdom of Wu (c. A.D. 222-280), one of the three kingdoms emerging from the ruins of the later Han empire. 46 The Wu territory, situated on the coast of South China, was left out of trade with Central Asia, due to its rivalry with the two other kingdoms. 47 The San-Kuo Chih clearly indicates that the supply of horses by the Wei envoys depended on their willingness to accept in exchange the luxury articles offered by the royal court of the Wu kingdom.48 This trade was apparently conducted more on a diplomatic than on a regular commercial level. So for horses, which must have been in great demand for communication and warfare, the Wu court turned to Fu-nan (Cambodia)49, which then controlled also parts of Malay peninsula and the South-East Asian trade on various items including horse⁵⁰. Until A.D. 589 the independent states of South China resorted to maritime trade connected with South-East Asia for getting "western products" whose supply through overland routes in Central Asia and parts of China was impeded.⁵¹ Fu-nan's pre-eminence in this trade declined in the 4th century A.D.52 Though the trade continued with the emergence of other commercial areas (like Yeh-p'o-ti or Java-Sumatra and Lin-yi in South Vietnam) by the early 5th century A.D.53 and the regaining of importance by Fu-nan,54 the source of supply of Central Asian horses for maritime trade might have been threatened by the turmoil caused in that area by the Juan-juan tribe from about the middle of the 4th century A.D. and by the Hephthalite Huns from the first quarter of the next century A.D.55 Gradually Persian horses became well-known in maritime trade. 56

Thus India's trade with South-East Asia in Central Asian horse probably ended

by about the second half of the 4th or early 5th century A.D. Until then (c. A.D. 400) merchants from the north-west could have brought Central Asian horses to Vanga and exported them from there.

Such merchants and their families had reasons to settle in Vanga. The trade in horse in Vanga is also suggested by the newly found epigraphic evidence. There is a reference to a person as "winner of skilled horse(s)" [jadadakhaspaj(i)da<jātadakshāśva-jitah] in a fragmentary Kharoshṭī inscription (item no. 206 in the Tamralipta Museum and Research Centre, Tamluk). On one side of a terracotta object, now in a private collection, appear two horses with a rider and the Kharoshṭī legend dhesido (<deśita), "instructed" or "trained" (fig. 8a).

As several Kharoshtī and Kharoshtī-Bhāhmī inscriptions indicate, the immigrants were also interested in large scale cultivations and in trade in agricultural products. A Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscription on a seal (now in the collection of the Balanda Museum at Haroa) refers to one Karaphagmā (or Karachhugmā) as a Kodihālika (Kodihālika Karaphagmā or Karachhugmā) (fig. 9a-b), i.e. "a person having a crore of ploughs". He must have been a large scale agriculturist, employing several cultivators to till his vast arable land. Some trading documents, including the one discussed above (T. 4312 in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta), allude to internal trade in grain.

Overseas trade in grain is suggested by the above noted seal of Yaśoda, displaying a ship, a stalk of grains and a legend referring to his voyage in three directions or three countries (fig. 6a). Stalks of grains are placed on the board of a sea-going vessel on a seal in the collection of the Indian Museum. The Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legend on the seal speaks of the vessel as Jalodhi Sakla (i.e. Jalodhi-Śakra), or "Indra (i.e. Lord) of the Ocean" (fig. 10). Another seal, now in the collection (no. CKG 180 or T 687) of the Directorate of Archaeology (Government of West Bengal), bears the device of a ship, and an inscription in the "Mixed" script referring to it as Trapyaga. The name can be easily identified with that of the "long ships" called Trappaga in the Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses⁵⁷. It was used for coastal voyages (sec. 44). The same type of craft is mentioned as Tappaka in the Angavijjā.⁵⁸

We do not know the countries (and/or regions in peninsular India) to which grain was exported. There is, however, nothing to be surprised at simultaneous export of horse, salable with great profit⁵⁹, and grain, which could have yielded a comparatively low margin of return. The *Periplus* indicates shipment of items of luxury as well as wheat and rice from Barygaza (Broach in W. India) in Ariake⁶⁰. Perhaps destinations for two types of export were different from one another and/or the total amount of profit at a transaction could be enhanced by augmenting the quantity of grain. In any case, the emigrants from the north-west to Vanga (and also perhaps the local population) were interested in maritime trade.

These immigrants in Vanga were economically and numerically strong enough to continue the use of their script and language and even to introduce a form of "mixed" script. The Graeco-Roman impact noticeable in the early art of the territory of lower West Bengal may have reached Vanga from Gandhāra, a strong base of such influence, with the artists and artefacts brought from the latter area to the settlements of the immigrants in question⁶¹. Similarly, the participation of such immigrants in Vanga's

trade facilitated the emergence of a metrology of local copper coins based on a combination of Kushāna and indigenous monetary systems⁶² (Chapter II).

In the field of script and language the emigrants from the north-west introduced the Kharoshti script and North-Western Prakrit in Vanga (including parts of lower West Bengal) and also evolved a "mixed" script.

NOTES

1B. N. Mukherjee, "A Note on the Name Kharoshthi", Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1981, pp. 144f; F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, vol. II, Indian edition, New Delhi, 1970, p. 203. 2 Ibid.; A. H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, Oxford, 1963, pp. 251f.

3A. H. Dani, op. cit., p. 252.

4 Ibid.

⁵B. N. Mukherjee, "Central Asia (including Northern Afghanistan)", The Cultural Heritage of India, vol. V (edited by S. K. Chatterji), Calcutta, 1978, pp. 704-706; F. Bernhard, "Bilingual (Gandhari and Kuchean) Documents Written in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī from Chinese Turkestan", Proceedings of the International Conference of the Orientalists, Canberra Session, 1971, pp. 274-275.

6S. Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, pt. I, Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of

Aśoka, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 48 and 50; B. N. Mukherjee, Mathurā and Its Society—The Śaka-Pahlava Phase, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 27f; Journal of Ancient Indian History, vol. XIII, p. 285.

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7B. N. Mukherjee, "Inscribed Mahābodhi Temple Plaque from Kumrahar", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, ns, vol. XIV, pp. 43f. A few Kharoshti inscriptions were recently noticed on certain pillar-like blocks of stone found in the Chunar area (U.P.). These have been edited by us. (Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society, vol. XIX, no. 9, September, 1990, pp. 1-9. See also the Prāgdhāră, Journal of the U. P. State Archaeological Organisation, no. I, 1990-91, pp. 49 f and 53 f).

8Ibid, p. 45; A. H. Dani, op cit, p. 252.

These pots are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

¹⁰B. N. Mukherjee, Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka, Calcutta, 1984, chart.

¹¹D. Diringer, The Alphabet, 2nd revised edition, London, 1953, p. 305, and fig. 141, col. 3.

12B. N. Mukherjee, "Kharoshti Inscriptions from Chunar (U.P.)", Monthly Bulletin, Asiatic Society, September, 1990, pp. 1f.

13While Brāhmī or Kharoshtī pha should usually convey a labial voiceless aspirate plosive sound, Greek

phi indicates a labial voiceless spirant aspirate plosive sound.

14 For a somewhat similar form of chha, with a short vertical upper stroke, see A. H. Dani, op cit, pl. VIII a.

15S. Konow, op cit, pl. XII, no. 1.

16 Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme-Orient, 1985, vol. IXXIV, pl. XI-XII. G. Fussman has wrongly taken the date of the inscription as "the year twenty-six". It is clearly "in the year one hundred-twenty six" (sambatsaraye shaviśaśatima'e).

17A. H. Dani, op cit, pls. VIII a-b, X a-b and XI a-b.

¹⁸Lalitavistara, 10th adhyāya; P. L. Vaidya (editor), Lalitavistara, Darbhanga, 1958, p. 88.
 ¹⁹S. Konow, op. cit., pp. XCVf. See also G. Fussman's writing entitled "Gāndhārī Ecrite, Gāndhārī Parlée".

²⁰K. G. Goswami, Excavations at Bangarh (1938-41), Calcutta, 1948, p. 13 and pl. XXIV, no. 5.

²¹In this connection see R. Saloman's article in J. Chakravarti and D. C. Bhattacharyya (editors), Aspects of Indian Art and Culture, S. K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume, Calcutta, 1983, pp. 205-207.

22M. Ridley, The Seal of Aetea and the Minoan Scripts, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 1f.

23 James Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindustan or Mughal Empire and the Bengal Atlas (edited by B. P. Ambashthya), Patna, map of the Delta of the Ganges. For another relevant map (printed in 1785), see S. Gole, A Series of Early Printed Maps of India in Facsimile, New Delhi, 1980, map no. 48.

²⁴Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, sec. 63; Ptolemy, Geographike Huphegesis, VII, 1, 81. ²⁵Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review, pl. XXXVIII, no. A.

²⁶Wei-lüeh, T'oung Pao, s. II, vol. VI, 1905, pp. 551-552; B. N. Mukherjee, "The Territory of the Gangaridai", Indian Journal of Landscape Systems and Ecological Studies, vol. V, no. 2, 1987, pp. 65f.

²⁷A. Bhattacharyya, Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Mediaeval Bengal, Calcutta, 1976, pp. 45f. ²⁸M. A. Jabbar, Atitera Hādoā, Hadoa, 1380 B.S., pp. 1f; Purātāttvika, vol. I, no. 1, pp. 36f; P. K. Mandal, Interpretations of Terracottas from Tamralipta, Tamluk, 1987. pp. 3f. See also below n. 62 and our article in the Betar(a) Jagat, September 16-30, 1984, p. 628.

20 There is evidence of working in the Rakha mines of the Singhbhum district in the early centuries A.P. (B. N. Mukherjee and P. K. D. Lee, Technology of Indian Coinage, Calcutta, 1982 p. 73).

30Sce above n. 28 and below n. 32.

31Ch'ien Han-shu, ch. 28B, pp. 32a-B; Milindapanha, VI, 21, 360; Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, scis. 36 and 64; K'ang-T'ai, Wu-shih-wai kuo chuan quoted in the Tai Vina V. K'ang-T'ai, Wu-shih-wai kuo chuan quoted in the Tai-p'ing Yu-Lan, ch. 359, p. 1650a; Ta-hsien, Fo-kuo-chi, ch. XXXVII; Periplus, secs. 56 and 64; B. N. Mukherjee, Economic Factors in Kushana History, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 37-39; etc. It is interesting to note that according to an evidence of the middle of the 3rd century A.D. "a ruler of Tan-mei (Tāmra=Tāmralipti) sent letters to the Yellow Gate" (Chinese Court) (L. Petech, Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu, Rome, 1950, p. 53).

32B. N. Mukherjee, "Coins in Pre-Gupta Bengal," Studies in Aechaeology, Papers presented in Memory of P. C.

Dasgupta (edited by A. K. Dutta), New Delhi, 1991, p. 307.

33 Liang-shu, ch. 54, f. 22b; Ma Tuan-lin, Wen hsien t'ung K'ao, ch. 328; Kou-hin-tou-chou, notice on India; S. Lévi, "Deux peuples méconnus", Melanges Charlez des Harlez, pp. 22-23; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, vol. VI, pt. I, p. 64.

34 It is mentioned as Takkola in the Milindapañha, (VI, 21, 360) and Mahaniddesa (1, 15, 174) and as Takola emporion by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 5) (S. Lévi, "Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Brihatkathā", Études Asiatiques, vol. II, Paris, 1925, pp. 3-19). It appears from the Sui-shu that the kingdom of Chü-li bordered on the coast of Siam, and the Liang-shu indicates that the port of Chu-li (i.e. Takola) was on the western coast from where a ship could go straight to T'ien-chu (P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, Glasgo, etc., 1961, pp. 22-24 and 268-272). Takola may have been modern Takuapa or a site on an island off the mouth of the Takuapa river (P. Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan", Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme-Orient, vol. III, 1903, p. 260; H.C.Q. Wales, Towards Angkor, London, 1937, p. 47). ³⁵See above n. 33.

36 Shui-Ching-Chu, ch. I; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 53.

³⁷L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 52-55.

³⁸Shih-chi (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition), ch. 110, p. 60; ch. 123; B. N. Mukherjee, Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History, Calcutta 1970, pp. 28 and 42-43 (n. 11).

39A. H. Dani, Human Records on Karakoram Highway, Islamabad, 1983, pp. 76 and map no. 4. ⁴⁰A. H. Dani, Chilas—The City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar), Islamabad, 1983, illustrations numbrered 72, 73, 78, 89, 93, 99, 132, etc. A Kharoshti inscription in the Chilas area refers to the great liking of Gemdaphara for large horses (vitaspa). Gemdaphara can be identified with the Indo-Parthian King Gandophares I (Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1984, vol. XXVI, nos. 1-4, pp. 11-12). S. N. Ghosal was wrong in translating

aspa as "stone" (asma) (ibid, 1986, vol. XXVIII, no. 3; p. 30).

40a See below n. 41. The system of importing horses through the north-western zone of the Indian subcontinent and thence despatching them to its other parts was well-known even before the foundation of the Kushana (Yüch-chih) empire. The Vinaya Pitaka indicates that traders in horses, hailing from Uttarapatha, visited Verañja (to be located in Eastern U.P.) (The Pali Text Society's edition, edited by H. Oldenberg, vol. III, reprint, London, 1966, p. 6). The Tandulanāli Jātaka refers to the bringing of five hundred horses by a horse-dealer from Uttarāpatha to Vārāṇasī. The Kuṇḍaka-Kuchchi-Sindhava Jātaka records the regular supply of horses from Uttarāpatha to Vārāṇasī (E.B. Cowell, The Jātaka, vol. I, London, 1895, p. 22; vol. II, London, 1895, p. 200). The Syāmā Jātaka in the Mahāvastu Avadāna, to which my attention has been kindly drawn by Mr. M. C. Joshi, records the import of horses from Takshaśilā to the area of Vārāṇasī (The Mahavastu, edited by E. J. Jones, vol. II, London, 1952, p. 162). The Arthaśāstra (II, 30) notes horses of different classes known after Bāhlīka (Bactria), Kāmboja (to the south-east of the Hindukush) and some territories in the north-western and western sections of the subcontinent (probably because through these areas they were used to be brought into the interior regions). Horses were also sent to South India, which were sometimes exported from there (i.e. the Tamila or Damila country) to Śri-Lankā (S. Paranavitana, Inscriptions of Ceylon, vol.I, 1970, pp. 28, 46 and 72; Mahāvamsa, XXI, 10-11), The Divyāvadāna, which may be dated to the Kushāna age, marrates the story of the traders who procured five hundred horses in Uttarāpatha and took them to Madhyadeśa (XXV; E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, The Divyāvadāna, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 509 and 511). See also Pāṇini, Ashtādhyāyī, VI,2,42 and a commentary on ibid, VI, 2,13 (referring to a horse-dealer).

⁴¹The kingdom in which Su-wu received the horses of the Yüeh-chih country was ruled by a king with the title of Murunda and was situated probably in the area of North Bihar (B. N. Mukherjee, The Disintegration

of the Kushana Empire, Banaras, 1976, pp. 31-35).

42K'ang T'ai's Wu shih wai kuo chuan quoted in the T'ai-ping Yu-lan, ch. 359; Études Asiatiques, vol. II. pp. 248-250.

⁴³Études Asiatiques, vol. II, p. 250. 44O. W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, A Study of the Origin of Śrīvijaya, New York, 1967, pp. 59-60.

- ⁴⁵India Antiqua (A Volume of Oriental Studies, Presented by his Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E.), Leiden, 1947, pp. 107, 171-172 and 176 P; pl. XIV, f.
- ⁴⁶W. Eberhard, A History of China, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, 2nd edition, London, 1964, pp.107f. ⁴⁷Wang Gangwu, "The Nan Hai Trade", Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXXI, pt. II, pp. 31f.
- ⁴⁸San-Kuo-Chih (Wu), 2, f. 19b. ⁴⁹See above n. 33 and 42.
- ⁵⁰See above n. 33 and 42
- 51 Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXXI, pt. II, p. 46.
- ⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 42. ⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 43-52.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 37 and 52; K. S. Latourette, The Chinese—Their History and Culture, 3rd edition, New York, 1960, p. 159.
- 55W. Samolin, East Turkestan to the Twelfth Century, The Hague, 1964, p. 53; P. Sykes, A History of Persia, vol. I, 3rd edition, London, 1963, pp. 434f.

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- ⁵⁶Cosmas Indikopleustes noticed sometime in the first half of the 6th century A.D. that Sielediva (Simaladdvīpa cr Sri-Lanka), which had maritime trade contacts with *inter-alia* different ports of India, China and Persia, used to receive horses from the last noted country (*Topographia Christiana*, book XI; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, Westminister, 1901, pp. 162-165).
- 57 Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses, sec. 44.
- 58 Angavijjā, XXXIII, 5.
- ⁵⁹The high profitability in horse trade is indicated by a statement of K'ang T'ai, which humorously refers to sale of even a dead horse at half price in the area of Ko-ying where the Yüch-chih merchants "continually" imported steeds by sea (or ship) (see above n 42).
- 60 Periplus, secs. 14 and 41. For an evidence, though of a much later age, about the export of luxury items along with heavy articles of necessity in the same ship, see the paper of R. Chakravarti in the Itihāsa Anusandhāna, no. 3 (edited by G. Chattopadhyay), Calcutta, 1988, p. 84. The heavy articles could have been additionally used as ballasts.
- figures in Gandhāra art and in artefacts found in the north-west. These elements are traceable also in numerous terracotta sculptures, figures on seals and artefacts of early centuries A.D. unearthed in lower West Bengal, particularly in the districts of 24-Parganas (North and South) and Midnapore. (In this connection see our article in the Betār(a) Jagat, September 16-30, 1984).
- ⁶²B. N. Mukherjee "Early Bengal Numismatics: The Scope of Study", Mudrā, special number (Early Bengal issue), Numismatic Society of Calcutta, 1989, pp. 10 f; B. N. Mukherjee, "Coins in Pre-Gupta Bengal", A K. Dutta (editor), op. cit., pp. 292 f; etc.

CHAPTER II

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HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

A

WE may now assess the implications of the above noted discoveries against the background of the history of the territory of ancient Vanga known from other sources.

It is now generally considered that the urbanisation in this agriculturally rich zone commenced during the Maurya age (late 4th to early 2nd century B.C.) and that among all sections of "Bengal" (West Bengal and Bangladesh) this area has yielded the largest number of artefacts of the post-Maurya and pre-Gupta period.¹ Stratified data from Tamluk, Chandraketugarh, Hadipur, Mangalkot, etc., indicate fairly prosperous conditions of at least a class or certain classes of people in the early centuries of the Christian Era.²

The state formation and even urbanisation in the zone in question might have commenced in a pre-Maurya period if there is any basic truth in the episode of Vijaya, narrated in the Mahāvamsa3, which speaks of the Vanga country with a capital and of its border-country Lala (Rādha), where Vijaya's father founded a new kingdom with his capital at Sihapura. In any case, the area was probably within the territory of the Gangaridai⁴, which at the time of Alexander's invasion of India in the eight decade of 4th century B.C. was either under a king and in a confederacy with the kingdom of the Prasioi⁵ or was dominated by the monarch of the latter called Agrames. This king is generally identified as a scion of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha (with the name or epithet Ugrasainya)7. The authority of the Mauryas might have been extended to the area in question if Tamralipti, which Asoka visited (unaccompanied by any other king) while despatching a branch of the Bodhi tree to Simhala by a sea-route, was within his empire. A hypothesis regarding the existence of a small kingdom (or chiefdom) in a part out of the zone concerned in about as well as before the time of Khāravela of Kalinga (i.e. the second half of the 1st century B.c.) may be accepted if the epithet Lalāka, attributed in an epigraph of his chief queen to her great great grandfather,9 is taken to stand for Rādhaka.

The whole or the greater part of our zone was in the Huang-chih or Gangā kingdom, 10 mentioned in the Ch'ien Han-shu in connection with its trade with China in the 1st century B.C. or rather in the early 1st century A.D. 11 It is claimed that Wang Mong, then a regent of the boy emperor P'ing-ti (A.D.1-5), sent "rich gifts to the ruler of Huang-chih expecting" "a living rhinoceros" in return. 12

The Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses of the 1st century A.D. refers to the Ganges (or Gangā) country and its emporium called by the same name¹³. In about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Ptolemy spoke of the same mart as the capital of the country of the Gangaridai¹⁴, identifiable with the Ganges country and also with Vanga of indigeneous texts¹⁵ (Appendix III).

Thus when in about the second half of the 1st century A.D. a class of people came from the north-west and settled in the Chandraketugarh area and perhaps also in the

area of Tamluk for the purpose of agricultural and commercial pursuits, the Gangā = Vanga kingdom had its capital at the town called Gangā. It may have been in the locality of modern Deganga in the district of 24-Parganas (North). Through this area flowed a branch (Yamunā) of the Ganges, which ultimately reached the Bay of Bengal.

We do not know the exact relationship of the kingdom of Vanga with the Kushāṇa (Yüeh-chih) empire, which included *inter alia* the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. However, the immigrants in Vanga, hailing from the Yüeh-chih domain, could have been known as Yüeh-chih, Kushāṇa or Tukhāra. Such appellations were applicable to the people belonging ethnically to the Yüeh-chih tribe and also to non-Yüeh-chih inhabitants of North-Western India and extra-Indian territory in the Kushāṇa empire during the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa age (c. 1st-4th century A.D.) or even later.¹⁶

The immigrants settled in Vanga mainly as agriculturists and traders. The main areas of their settlements were in the territory now included in the 24-Parganas (North) and perhaps also in the Tamluk area. While the former territory was very fertile and also had a great emporium called Gange, the latter area included the famous ancient port of Tāmralipti. The discoveries of a few Kharoshṭī inscriptions in the district of 24-Parganas (South) (especially at Harinarayanpur) and the provenances of a few seals with legends in the same or in the "Mixed" script, including the one unearthed at Pandurajar dhivi in the Burdwan district (see above), may allude to the presence of the immigrants in different parts of Vanga. However, the above discussed seal from Bangarh (antiquity numbered 1035 in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta) and a similar item found at Mahasthangarh (in the Bogra district of Bangladesh)^{16a} have been reported from localities much outside the limits of ancient Vanga. As these appear to be traders' seals (used to be tagged to their goods), these could have reached the localities concerned by way of trade.

That some of the immigrants or members of their descendants' families became rich and influential is suggested by the seal of the large-scale agriculturist Karaphagmā or Karachhugmā (see Chapter I) and the evidence of the use of the "Mixed" script in the seal of a local authority (items 9 and 14 of our list of inscriptions in Appendix I and figs. 9a-b and 14c and d).

Such a group of people might have captured political power at least in a territory now included in the district of 24-Parganas (North). An excellent oval sealing (no. 12 of the list of inscriptions in Appendix I) has been found near Berachampa (24-Parganas North), bears the impression of an inscription in the "Mixed" script datable palaeographically to about the 1st or early 2nd century A.D. It can be read meaningfully as Gaṇarajhada ["From (i.e. of) the Gaṇarājya"] (fig. 12). It perhaps alludes to a government controlled by an association or group of immigrants. Such an administration, using Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī, could have come into existence after the introduction of the "Mixed" script sometime later than the establishment of the first settlement of the Kharoshṭī using people in the area concerned.

We do not know as to how long the oligarchic government continued. However, impressions of royal seals, alluding to individual kings, indicate a change from oligarchy to monarchy. All of them have been unearthed in the Chandraketugarh area.

The impression of such a royal seal appears on a terracotta object found in the Chandraketugarh area. The legend in the seal, detable to c. 2nd century A.D., refers to one Juju as a victorious king (no. 13 of the list of inscriptions in Appendix I and fig. 13).

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Another royal seal appears stamped on a circular terracotta object, carrying on the reverse the impression of the seal of a local authority and engraved on the edge with the name of a merchant (no. 14 of our list). This object, now kept in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) (no. T. 4312), has been interpreted by us as a permit to transport or sale a consignment of grain (see Chapter I). The royal seal displays a device looking like a $y\bar{u}pa$ (a sacrificial post), the legend sa 90 $k(\bar{a})hana$ (with the letters decorated with stalks of paddy) and a Kharoshti-Brāhmī inscription on the margin, the remains of which can be read as (IV) $\hat{S}r(\bar{\imath})$ rajha $\hat{J}adhana$ja. The legend can be considered as referring to a king $(r\bar{a}j\bar{a})$ called $\hat{J}adhana$. The features of the Brāhmī letters may date the seal to the 2nd century A.D. (figs. 14 a-c, e. c. 12).¹⁷

A similar royal seal on the same type of object (no. 15 of our list) bears the yūpa-like device, the Brāhmī legend sa 90 (kāhaṇa) and a fragmentary marginal legend in Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī, which can be partly deciphered as (III). Jadha. ja. We do not know whether this seal, palaeographically datable to the age of the preceding one, belongs to the king alluded to by the latter.

A fairly well preserved marginal inscription in Brāhmī-Kharoshtī on another royal seal [carrying the yūpa-like device and traces of the Brāhmī legend sa 90 k(ā)haṇa (no. T 8905 in the Asutosh Museum and no. 16 of our list)] can be read as Jujutaraja Ṭājatā niḍrejajar(ā)jha (no. 16 of our list; e.c. 10 and fig. 16). Here the expression niḍre may be connected with the Śaka word nite meaning "complete". Retaining this word, the legend can be Sanskritised as "Yuvayuktarājā Ṭājatāḥ nite (=sampūrṇa) jajarājā" and may be translated as "youg joint king Ṭājaṭā, who is a complete warrior king". Palaeographically the inscription may be placed in the 4th century A.D.

On one side of another terracotta object (no. CKG 181 and T 732 in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal, and no. 17 of our list) a seal impression displays a male figure seated by the side of a female (deity?) wearing chiton. The male holds a mace and wears a skull cap simulating the head of an elephant with trunk (as noticeable on the coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Demetrius I).19 These are insignia of royalty. He seems to be referred to in a Kharoshti-Brāhmi legend in the field to the left of the female. It can be read as Dhada-gajatama Ladhape'a. Here Ladhape'a is given the epithet Dharagajatama ("the best sustaining elephant"). On the margin an indistinct Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legend can be doubtfully read from outside as (IX) a'udana nesane uda pra'uta (=Odananyāsena udam prayuktam), meaning "water was used by mixing with boiled rice". On the edge of the terracotta object an incised Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legend can be deciphered as vidhisame medatra jañamma dita (=vidhisamena medah atra yajñe dattah) and translated as "fat is given according to rules in this sacrifice". On the reverse of the terracotta object appear three stalks of grain and the Kharoshti-Brāhmi legend Pra (śāstra) punyaudhreka (=Prasāstra-punyasya udrekaḥ), meaning "abundance of the merit of the office of the ruler"20 (figs. 17 a-b and e.c. 13). The marginal legend on the obverse and the incised legend on the edge apparently refer to a sacrifice performed by a ruler called Ladhape'a. The terracotta object carrying impressions of two seals and an incised legend was probably issued on such an occasion.

The inscriptions are palaeographically datable to about the early 5th century A.D. The form of the Brāhmī letter u is akin to that which is so far known to have its first dated appearance in the Dhanaidaha inscription of the year 113 of the Gupta Era (i.e. A.D. 432-33).²¹ So Laḍhape'a belonged the late 4th or rather early 5th century A.D.

It appears that there was a monarchy in the Chandraketugarh area from sometime of the 2nd to the early 5th century A.D. The kings concerned (including Juju, Jadhana..., Ṭājaṭā and Laḍhape'a) belonged to the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī using community. Ṭājaṭā was for some time the young joint king", i.e. the junior co-ruler, in a system of administration which was headed by two rulers. Similar conjoint rule of two kings was followed also in the Kushāṇa empire. ²²

The limits of the kingdom dominated by the immigrants are not known. We are also not aware of the nature of relationship between it and the kingdom of Tan-mei (Tāmra, i.e. Tāmralipti) including the territory at the mouth (i.e. around one of the mouths) of the Ganges. The territory was obviously named after its capital, the famous port of Tāmralipti. It was referred to by K'ang T'ai in about the middle of the 3rd century A.D.²³ and visited by Fa-hsien in early 5th century A.D.²⁴ Through this territory Su-wu, hailing from Fu-nan, proceeded sometime in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. to a kingdom situated 7000 li away.²⁵

We have suggested elsewhere that the ultimate destination of Su-wu was a kingdom, ruled by the kings with the title of Murunda, which incorporated initially parts of North Bihar and later also of South Bihar, including Pāṭaliputra.²⁶ It is interesting to note that an excavation at Kumrahar (once within the limits of ancient Pāṭaliputra) yielded a terracotta plaque displaying a temple having some resemblance to the Bodh-Gaya shrine and carrying a Kharoshṭī as well as a Brāhmī inscription (though no legend in the "Mixed" script). Both the inscriptions are of 1st-2nd century A.D. The Brāhmī legend refers to (the depiction on the plaque as a representation of) "the king's chaitya".²⁷ It is not certain whether the owner or donor of the plaque hailed from a part of Vaṅga where both the scripts could have been known to a class of people.

It appears from some of the *Purāṇas* that during the initial phase of the rise of the Guptas (to be placed in the first half of the 4th century A.D.) Tāmralipta and some other areas were enjoyed by the Devarakshitas.²⁸ We cannot establish any initial connection between these rulers, whose name literally means "protected by the Devas", and the Kushāṇa kings, known as "Devaputra" and at least one of them even as "Deva",²⁹ though one may be tempted to speculate on this point. The veracity of the claim about the rule of the Devarakshitas in the Tāmralipta area itself, let alone in other distant territories, cannot also be proved without reliable corroborative evidence.

On the other hand, we can be sure of the existence of another small kingdom in (or near?) the Vanga country during the initial phase of the rise of the imperial Guptas. A Brāhmī inscription of c. 4th century A.D. on the rock inside a cave at Susunia (Bankura district) refers to the work (i.e. causing the excavation or renovation of the cave) performed by Mahārāja Chandravarman and its dedication by the chief slave (?) of Chakrasvāmin (meaning the king himself). Chandravarman is referred to as the son of Mahārāja Simhavarman of Pushkaraṇa³³. If this locality was in the area of modern Pokharna

in the Bankura district, a ruling family with the names ending in varman controlled a part of Vanga (or a territory close to it?) in the early 4th century A.D.

The identification of Chandravarman with the ruler of the same name, included in the list of the kings of Āryāvartta exterminated by Samudragupta³¹, will indicate the extension of the limits of the Gupta empire to ancient Vanga during his reign. This, however, does not necessarily imply the end of all other local ruling families in Vanga, even if they were temporarily subdued, swearing allegiance to the Gupta emperor who had Samataṭa (including the Noakhali and Comilla regions of Bangladesh) as bordering on his territory.³² Members of such royal dynasties might have fought against king Chandra. According to his Meharauli inscription, his fame was inscribed on his arm "by the sword, when, in battle in the Vanga country, he dashed back with his chest the enemies who, uniting together, came upon him."³³ If Chandra is identificable with Chandragupta II (c. A.D. 376 or 380-412-13), the son of Samudragupta, then the Gupta rule might have been firmly re-established in Vanga after the discomfiture of the confedaracy of the Vanga rulers sometime by the early 5th century A.D. Interestingly enough, the available evidence does not allow the extension of the rule of the immigrant family (or families) in the Chandraketugarh area after this period.

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The kingdoms must have maintained armies. At least one Kharostī-Brāhmī inscription may refer to a soldier (yadha < yodha?) (no. 18 of our list and fig. 18).

We may assume that among the sources of revenue were taxes on agricultural produce and commercial transactions, including exports and imports.^{33a} The terracotta objects, considered as sale permits, imply payments of a kind of tax on sale. The State's interest in external relations, apparently for *inter alia* promoting trade, is indicated by a statement of K'ang T'ai that the king of Tan-Mei (Tāmralipti) "sent letters to the Yellow Gate (Chinese court) and was appointed (by China) the king of Tan-mei".³⁴ Though this statement may contain an exaggeratory claim it surely implies communication between the two states.

A seal, found at Chandraketugarh and now in a private collection (no. 19 of our list and fig. 19), bears a Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscription which can be meaningfully read as ayav'a daramga (=āyavyaya-dranga), referring to an office³⁵ for maintaining accounts of receipts and expenditure.

B

During the age with which we are concerned (i.e. from about the second half of the 1st to early 5th century A.D.) the indigenous population of Vanga witnessed the advent of a group or groups of immigrants from the north-west and felt the influence exerted by them and their successors in different spheres of life. The population of Vanga absorbed new ethnic elements. They became aware of the north-western variety of Prakrit and the Kharoshṭī script. The innovation of the "Mixed" script and some of the immigrants' acquaintance with Brāhmī (as indicated by its use on their seals) may have facilitated communication between them and the local population.

As indicated by the representations of human beings in the sculpture of the age, the indigenous population used to wear *dhuti* and śāḍā (outer garments for the male and female respectively) and to decorate themselves with different types of head-dress and

ornament. Some pieces of sculpture, however, display male figures wearing trousers, coat, cap and boots (fig. 51), and show females dressed in chiton (fig. 17). These types of apparel must have been introduced in Vanga by the emigrants from the north-west.

Among the clay pots of various shapes and sizes of the age concerned, found at Chandraketugarh (figs. 2 and 41-50), Mangalkot, Tamluk, etc., we may find parallels to several types of vessels unearthed in the north-west. We may especially refer to the items looking like amphora and rouletted dish (figs. 49 and 50).³⁶ These might have been introduced in Vanga by the immigrants. That some of them produced pottery on a large scale is proved by the discoveries of numerous pots in the Chandraketugarh area bearing inscriptions in Kharoshtī and Kharoshtī-Brāhmī.

Thus the immigrants must have made an impact on the local population of some areas in Vanga, including the territory now in the district of 24-Parganas (North).

C

Armed with these general inferences we may discuss certain data relating to social, socio-religious and economic life in the age concerned.

Caste system was probably in vogue in pre-Gupta Vanga. An inscription (no. 51) refers to dvijas (men of Brāhmaṇa caste). The performance of the Vedic sacrifices, alluded to in several seal inscriptions (for examples see above), indicates the presence of Brahmanical priests (see also nos. 17, 20 and 21 of our list). A potsherd from the Chandraketugarh area (and now in the Bhuvan Museum and Art Gallery, Calcutta) is engraved with a Kharoshṭī inscription referring to a dvr(i)ja or dr(i)ja, i.e. dvija or brāhmaṇa, from Maka (no. 4 of our list and fig. 4). If he was a Maga Brāhmaṇa, here is the earliest reference to the presence of such a priestly class in Vanga. This group came to the subcontinent from the zone of Iranian culture and was ultimately accepted as belonging to the Brahmanical caste.³⁷ Another inscription (no. 18) refers to a father and his son as Meda, which name, according to Manu, denoted a mixed caste.

Several of the seals appear to have been issued on the occasions of Vedic sacrifices. They often display a yūpa-like device. One of them, belonging to a ruler called Laḍhape'a (no. 17), may allude to the royal patronage of Vedic culture. A specialist in Vedic philosphy (Vedic Brahmavid) is mentioned in a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription on the edge of a seal (no. 21 of our list). Since some of these seals in question are datable to the pre-Gupta age, these prove the practice of Vedic rites in the pre-4th century Vaṅga.

It is interesting to note that a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription of c. 2nd century A.D. on the body of a small pitcher states that "[it is] to be given as an oblation to the chief (or best) maṭha (i.e. a monastery or a cloister)". The maṭha (and not vihāra) in question apparently belonged to a Brahmanical sect.

Of the Brahmanical deities Indra seems to have been well-known (no. 9 and figs. 9a-b and 9c). The worship of the god of rain was expected in a largely agricultural society. The discoveries of some terracotta figures of Agni with rams, datable to the age concerned, allude to the familiarity of a religious life largely controlled by ritualistic sacrifices associated with the god of fire. The popularity of Siva is indicated by his phallic representations on a few objects (nos. 3 and 39 of our list). The Chakrasvāmin form

of Vishņu is mentioned in the above noted Susunia inscription. A stone icon of Vishņu of the pre-Gupta phase was discovered long ago at Silua in the Noakhali region, which could have been very close to coastal Vaṅga. A male figure holding a lance on one side of an object (no. 8 of our list and fig. 8d) may perhaps be identified with Kārttikeya. In a female deity standing on a pedestal, which has in front of it Kārttikeya's mount peacock, we may see a representation of his consort Devasenā or Shashṭhī (fig 73).

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A terracotta plaque from Tamluk, displaying a winged male holding stalks of lotus in two hands, may represent an early variety of icon of Sūrya (Sun) mentioned in the Rig-Veda (I, 164, 46) as "the celestial and beautiful winged bird". The lotus may allude to him as the source of energy required for vegetation. Stalks of lotuses are held by the hands of a male figure, wearing a coat, trousers, a flat cap and boots and appearing on a terracotta plaque, found at Harinarayanpur and now in the collection of the Indian Museum in Calcutta (fig. 51). The boots as well as lotus-stalks are noticeable in the icons of Sūrya of the Pāla-Sena age. It seems that in the pre-Gupta age in Vanga Sūrya, wearing the Yüeh-chih dress, was looked upon as having foreign association. A tradition really associates the Maga Brāhmaṇas with the worship of Sun. Two terracotta objects from Chandraketugarh apparently representing Sūrya (in a chariot drawn by horses) may be doubtefully attributed to our age.

The popularity of a cult of fertility and prosperity (Śrī) is suggested by some representations of a winged goddess with leaves and buds of lotuses shooting out of her headgear. Representations of another lady holding a pair of fishes and wearing a diaphaneous drapery revealing her private parts (no. 37 of our list and figs. 35a-b and 52) may also allude to a cult of fertility. A ritual concerning this cult may be seen depicted on a terracotta plaque portraying a lady (?) standing on a heap of paddy and being attended by a dwarf with offerings and a squating nude lady.

A male figure on a terracotta plaque from Chandraketugarh holds a purse as well as the stalk of a lotus.⁴³ He may be identified as Kubera, the god of wealth.

The cult of Yaksha, associated with wealth, seems to have enjoyed some popularity⁴⁴ (nos. 35 and 39). A scene from a story concerning a Yakshī called Jirāmbī is depicted on a circular object (no. 39 and fig. 37a). She was probably looked upon as a spirit protecting jīra (cumin-seed). A Yaksha might have been considered as the spirit or a semidivine entity protecting grain or as an attendant of Kubera (no. 35).

A terracotta figurine, recognised as a representation of a serpent deity⁴⁵, may allude to a snake cult, which should have been popular in snake infested areas. A talisman (no. 22) bearing the figure of a peacock, the enemy of snake, and a legend referring to the desirability of connecting a snake-bitten person with a peacock, may allude to the practice of using charms to ward off the probable danger.

Gangā on a makara, her mount, is represented on a plaque found at Chandraketugarh and now in the Indian Museum (90/139) (fig. 53). This river, a great benefactress of the people, seems to have become the centre of a cult.⁴⁶

Vanga, according to a Nagarjunikonda inscription of the 3rd century A.D., was among several regions where "tranquility" (pasada < prasāda) was caused by the Sthaviravādin teachers of Tāmraparņi. 47 Vanga could, however, have been familiar with

Buddhism from at least the age of the Mauryas, when a branch of the Bodhi tree was sent to Tāmraparṇi or Sri-Lanka from the port of Tāmralipti. A fragmentary image of the Buddha (or a Bodhisattva), found at Chandraketugarh, has been stylistically dated by S. K. Saraswati to c. 2nd century A.D. 48 Fa-hsien saw in early 5th century A.D. twenty-two Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom of Tāmralipti. Buddhism was flourishing there. He spent there two years copying manuscripts of different sūtras and drawing pictures of images. 49

Among the Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions noticed so far there is no direct reference to Buddhism (see, however, the inscription numbered 53 in Appendix I). The same may be said about Jainism. There is no significant archaeological material indicating regular practice of Jaina rituals in pre-Gupta Vaṅga. 50

The religious life of the cast-based society of pre-Gupta Vanga seems to have been dominated by Vedic rites and Brahmanical deities and some folk cults concerning Yakshas, snake, fertility, etc.^{50a} Their influence engulfed the emigrants from the north-west, which was a stronghold of Buddhism. Again, unlike the north-west and many other areas, large stone icons did not catch the imagination of the people of pre-Gupta Vanga. They favoured to have portable representations of their deities on terracotta plaques.

An inscription (no. 9b of our list) refers to the propagation of the cause of the gods, ascetices and Brāhmaṇas by a very rich agriculturist. This and the excessive popularity of the cult of fertility and prosperity indicate that the material base of the religious and socio-economic life was formed by agriculture. It is significant that two of the most important devices on the seals concerned are (a) a $y\bar{u}pa$ and (b) stalks of grain.

D

The fertility of the soil, particularly of the North 24 Parganas region, helped the agricultural production. The scene of harvesting forms the theme of a terracotta plaque from Tamluk.⁵¹

Surplus of agricultural products ensured supply of basic food to urban areas. Excavations conducted at Tamluk, Mangalkot, Chandraketugarh, 52 etc., suggest that the material conditions at these sites were more prosperous in the early centuries of the Christian Era (including the so-called Kushāṇa age) than in any of the previous periods. Remains of house-complexes of "rammed surkhi floors, wattle-and-daub walls with heavy wooden pillars at corners, well-baked tile roofs and terracotta ring-wells" have been unearthed at Chandraketugarh, 53 which was also fortified by an earthen rampart built in c. 1st century B. C. and re-inforced in c. 1st century A. D. 54 Brick-built structures have been unearthed at inter alia Mangalkot. A platform (for thrassing paddy?) and a huge storage jar also have been found there 55, while a structure for storing paddy has been unearthed at Chandraketugarh. 56

Sites of different settlements have yielded a large number of terracotta artefacts, pieces of pottery of different shapes and sizes (including copies of amphora and rouletted ware). Terracotta plaques display inter alia scenes of dancing, playing on instruments and erotic and bacchanalian activities. An impressive number of terracotta toys have been unearthed. All these show that at least a class of people enjoyed the so-called good things of life. Among them we may include the families having political and/or economic

power or substance. Among the poor section were people who had to be content sometimes with products made of the refuse of millet (inscription no. 34) or who were referred to as having their heads "turned down" (inscription no. 23). They could not always take rice, the staple food. They worked *inter alia* as labourers and porters (as indicated by the scenes depicted in two plaques from Tamluk).⁵⁷

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Devices and legends on seals clearly allude to agriculture as the mainstay of economic life. A small unit of land, which could be sown with seeds put inside a small vessel (kośa), with the capacity of containing a particular amount of the material, was perhaps called kośavāpa⁵⁸ (inscription no. 2). Though the ordinary peasants tilling small plots of land or hired labourers in the field probably did not earn enough to accumulate wealth, the case was different with the owners of large areas of cultivation. A Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscription (no. 9a) refers to a person, who apparently belonged to a group of migrants from the north-west, as the employer of a crore of ploughmen. Such a large scale cultivator could have sold his surplus production at rural and also urban markets. In fact, as noted in Chapter I, several terracotta objects bearing the impressions of royal and local administrative seals and the name of a trader and the expression sa 90 kahana (embellished with the figures of ears of paddy) in the royal seal (nos. 14, 15, etc.) may be considered as permits for transporting and/or selling consignments of paddy each having the value of ninety kārshāpaṇas. Such permits were probably obtained by paying taxes to the royal and local administrations. Dealers in paddy are referred to in a few inscriptions as wealthy persons (nos. 6 and 10). The names of such merchants in the Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscriptions often allude to their north-western origin. The agricultural industry and trade attracted the outsiders (as well as local people) and became convenient instruments for getting rich.

Finds of a very large number of items of pottery of various shapes and sizes at different sites indicate their production in numerous localities and popular use for domestic and other purposes. The discovery of a deopsit of a very impressive number of pots and dishes at a single site while excaviting a tank at Hadipur near Chandraketugarh perhaps distinguishes it as a centre for large-scale production of the wheel-turned and kiln-fired pottery. Many of the items unearthed here are inscribed with Kharoshtī and/or Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legends (nos. 2, 30, 31, 33, 41-50, etc.). The use of such scripts indicates the control of the production centre by a group hailing from the north-west. The palaeographic features of the legends suggest the existence of this factory for a very long time (from the late 1st to the early 5th century A. D.). The name Vavaya inscribed or stamped in the script of c. 4th century A. D. on several items of pottery perhaps distinguishes him a large-scale producer for some time in that period. A stamped legend perhaps refers to him as "a great and broad (minded man)" or "a lord" (?) (no.7).

The industry using plastic clay as the basic material, available in different areas, included manufacture of bricks, tiles, clay-toys, plaques displaying various scenes (including erotic ones and those relating to the Jātaka and other stories⁵⁸⁴) and deities (figs. 52-53), objects of fine arts (figs. 8 and 37a), etc. The last noted items and also the figures on many other objects reveal sculptural styles imbibing local, Kushāṇa (or so-called Suṅga and Kushāṇa) and Hellenistic features.^{58b} The last mentioned feature might have been introduced by some artists from the north-west, where art had long

been exposed to Hellenistic influences. 58c Beside these numerous terracotta figures of the "ageless" type have also been unearthed. 58d

Another item of commerce in which the people from the north-west were interested was horse. As noted in Chapter I, Central Asian horses were imported via the north-west (and then on land and river routes?) to Vanga. Great value was placed on trained horses (objects numbered 1, 8a and 8d). The animal was used obviously for conveyance and for commercial and military purposes (figs. 57-58). It was also exported to South-East Asia. This trade was controlled by the people from the north-west (Chapter I).

Another important field of industry and trade could have been copper-mining, working in the metal and selling of items made of copper. We have evidence of working in the Rakha mines of the Singhbhum district (situated close to the limits of ancient Vanga) during the period concerned.⁵⁹

It is interesting to note that in an earlier age the Arthaśāstra referred to a class of silver as Gaudika⁶⁰ (i.e. produced in Gauda, which could have been at least partly within the limits of Vanga of the period). But we have no evidence of mining of silver in the territory concerned.

The silver of the quality in question was probably imported into the subcontinent through a port in the area concerned and hence became known in some quarters by a name connected with Vanga. The other precious metal, gold, of which a mine is located by the *Periplus* in the Ganges country, 61 could have been actually imported from outside or could have been procured by washing river sands in or near Vanga.

On the other hand, white and smooth dukūla (a kind of fine cloth made from the inner bark of a plant) and the high quality kārpāsika (cotton cloth), referred to as Vāṅgaka in the Arthaśāstra, could have been produced in Vaṅga⁶² and during our period too. The author of the Periplus noted in the 1st century A. D. export of fine quality muslin (sindones) called Gangetic from the Ganges country.⁶³

Among other crafts and industries (indicated by literary and archaeological sources), we may include weaving, making of jewellery (including beads of *inter alia* semi-precious varieties of imported stone), sculpting, mansonry, manufacture of transports (cart, boat, ships, etc.), structure-building, etc. Of the items imported for local use and also for export mention may be made of Gangetic nard (spikenard) and malabathrum.⁶⁴ These were products of the Himalayan (and sub-Himalayan) regions in North-Eastern India.

Land and riverine routes (including those on the different branches of the Ganges like the Bhāgīrathī, Sarasvatī and Yamunā)⁶⁵ were used for transporting goods in carts and boats and on pack animals.^{65a} Of the different land routes connecting the zone concerned with other areas in Eastern India one ran from Pāṭaliputra to Tāmralipti through (the hilly tracts between the spurs of the extensions of) the Vindhyas (in South-East Bihar).⁶⁶

The chief of trading community was known as Jetha (jyeshtha) (no. 8) or Sanaki-vāya ("a leader of the wealthy persons") (no. 15). A wealthy trading community had its own seal (no. 36). All these data indicate organised trade and commercial activities as means for acquiring vast wealth. It is significant that several merchants called them-

selves "wealthy" (inscriptions numbered 6, 7, 10, 14, etc.). One of the seals displaying a ship refers to it as Trapyaga (i.e. a carrier belonging to a class of ocean going vessel of that name)⁶⁷ and describes its owner as the "power conquering" family called Tasvodaja. Apparently the owners of the ship became not only wealthy but also powerful by conducting trade in shipping. Thus commercial wealth became a source of power.

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The families of rich traders, besides those of the rulers and the people favoured by them, formed the richer section of the society. The society also included very poor people who had to be content with the food made of the refuse of millet (inscription no. 34).

The *Periplus* refers to the use of pieces of gold (ingots of a certain weight) as pieces of money (nomismata).⁶⁸ Such a piece might not have been a regular stamped or cast coin.⁶⁹ During the Kushāṇa age some gold coins reached Vaṅga by way of trade. The Gupta gold and silver pieces could have been known in the territory under review during the Gupta age. But such gold or silver pieces were utilised probably for costly transactions.⁷⁰

The rich and also the poor probably used copper coins for ordinary daily transactions. The large number of copper pieces, unearthed within the limits of ancient Vanga, particularly in the area to the west of the Bhāgīrathī (which might have been partly in Rāḍha), are based on the weight of a unit of 32 ratis or 57.6 grains. Lower fractions as well as multiples of this unit were known. The metrology of the multiples can be connected with that of the imitations of Kushāṇa copper coins. The Kushāṇa copper coins which came to Vaṅga (including Rāḍha) by way of trade remained in circulation and were also imitated there. The so-called imitations were either die-struck or cast. They influenced the regional currency system from the 2nd century A.D. and helped the development of a complex currency system which can be called as Kushāṇa-Vaṅga or Kushāṇa-Rāḍha coinage. A terracotta plaque from Tamluk, displaying a vase overflowing with coins, indicates coins as constituting wealth and thereby suggests a regular circulation of coined money.

We have no definite evidence of the circulation of silver kārshāpaṇa coins in the period concerned. But units of silver ingot (or dust) weighing 32 ratis could have been accepted as kārshāpaṇas.⁷³ The name kārshāpaṇa, used for recording the value of consignments of paddy in some inscriptions (nos. 14, 15, etc.) may refer to units of silver weighing 32 ratis, since copper of such weight would have been too low a unit of value for recording conveniently the price of a commodity like paddy.

In addition to the above cowries could have been in use for ordinary transactions in at least the closing decades of our period. In the early 5th century Fa-hsien referred to their use in Madhyadeśa.⁷⁴ There should not have been any difficulty in using them in our territory.

F

In transactions with foreign traders or people the system of barter was probably adopted. The balance could be paid in ingots of precious metals (like gold and silver) (at the rate prevalent at the point of a transaction?).

In the 1st century A.D. the *Periplus* enumerated malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard and very fine quality muslins, called Gangetic, as items of export from the Ganges

country⁷⁵ (=Vanga). In an earlier age (in c. 1st century B.C. or very early 1st century A.D.) the Huang-chih (=Ganges=Vanga) country might have exported pearls (after importing them?) and opaque glass and imported gold and silk.⁷⁶ Silver could have another item of import (see above). If cowries formed a part of the media of exchange, they had to be imported (from Maldivi?).^{76a} Rice and horse became very important articles of export in the age with which we are concerned.

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As indicated by the *Periplus*, the Ganges (=Vanga) country had trade contacts with peninsular India through maritime routes⁷⁷ (and also overland routes?). A potsherd bearing a fragmentary Kharoshṭī inscription, unearthed during a recent excavation at Manikpatna on the Chilka Lake, representing perhaps the site of ancient Paloura, indicates, contacts between Vanga and the lower coast of Kalinga (fig. 74)^{77a} The *Milindapañha* speaks of an efficient sailor's visits to Vanga, Takkola, Chīna, Sovīra, Suraṭṭha, Alasanda, Kolapaṭṭana, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, etc.⁷⁸ Though such a statement does not prove Vanga's direct contact with all these ports, Fa-hsien's evidence proves direct mercantile relations with Sinhala⁷⁹ or Sri-Lanka, where Kolapaṭṭana or Jambukola (mentioned in the *Mahāvansa*)⁸⁰ was located. The data suggesting contact between Tāmralipti and Takkola (in Malay peninsula) in the 3rd century A.D. have been cited in Chapter I. There are also other indications about the connection of Vanga with South-East Asia⁸¹.

The Yüeh-chih merchants used to bring horses to the Ko-ying country (in Malay peninsula or East Sumatra) (see Chapter I). Their venture did not end in Malay peninsula or Sumatra. They had a settlement at Thagora on the Great Gulf, as mentioned by Ptolemy⁸². It was probably at or near Oc-éo, the site of an old emporium in the delta of Mekong in Cochin-China in Vietnam. In the 2nd century A.D. it was within the limits of Fu-nan,⁸³ which kingdom took a leading part in South-East Asia's trade with India (see Chapter I). It is interesting to note that a seal matrix bearing a name in the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script was found during an excavation at Oc-éo⁸⁴ (fig. 61). Another seal bearing a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription, now in the Lopburi Museum in Thailand, was discovered at U Thong in the same country⁸⁵ (fig. 62). Thus the Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī using merchants had at least one trading settlement in ancient Fu-nan. We do not know whether they had also contacts with China.⁸⁶ However, some contacts between the territory of Tan-mei or Tāmralipti (in Vaṅga) and China is indicated by an evidence of K'ang-T'ai (3rd century A.D.).⁸⁷

The Yüch-chih merchants exported horses and perhaps also rice to South-East Asia, though it was a rice-producing area. We know of import of rice into traditionally well-known rice producing regions in different periods. Rice could also be exported to peninsular India.

The ships engaged in Vanga's overseas trade conducted by the traders settled in Vanga included ships owned by some of them (inscriptions numbered 6, 10, 63, etc.). A vessel of this category called Jaladhiśakra belonged to a wealthy person called Dijamma (no. 10). That shipping business was conducive to the growth of wealth and power is indicated by the legend on a seal displaying a ship of the class called Trapyaka owned by a powerful family (no. 11).88

G

The above discussion indicates that in the post-Maurya and pre-Gupta Vanga the territory concerned was at times been divided into small states. One, if not two, of

such states was controlled in the period concerned (from the second half of the 1st century to the early 5th century A.D.) by a group of immigrants (from the north-west). That the immigrants maintained contacts with their home land in the north-west throughout the period in question is suggested not only by their occasional (?) use of a few letters of Aramaic, Parthian and Sasanian affiliations, which were likely to be known in contemporary North-Western India and its borderlands (Chapter I, section C; Appendix II), but also by the discoveries of at least two Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions in the north-west (figs. 80, 80a and 80b).89 The emigrants from the north-west settled in Vanga as agriculturists and traders and later became rulers. They formed a powerful wealthy group in the caste and class based society in Vanga. Brahmanism and folk-cults dominated the religious life of the country. Large scale industries were introduced in Vanga, which were at least partly controlled by the immigrants. Vanga may have coastal trade with peninsular and Western India. Its overseas trade flourished during our period. 90 Merchants from Vanga, dealing with horse and perhaps also rice, traded inter alia with South-East Asia and even had at least one settlement in Fu-nan. All these inferences are derived from the data supplied largely by the newly deciphered Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brāhmi epigraphs.

NOTES

- A. Ray, "Urbanisation in Bengal", Presidential Address, section I, Indian History Congress, Goa, 1987. pp. 5f. (of the printed address); see also n. 28 of Chapter I.
- ²B. N. Mukherjee "Mohānā Añchaler(a) Vāṇijya-chitra", Betār(a) Jagat, 16-30 Sept., 1984, p. 628.
- 3 Mahāvamsa, VI, 1f.

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- ⁴See above n. 26 of Chapter I.
- Diodorus Siculus, Bibliothekes Historikes, XVII, 93; Q. Curtius Rufus, De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni, IX, 2.
- ⁶Plutarch, Life of Alexander, Lives, LXIII.
- K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, Varanasi, 1952, pp. 14 f.
- ⁸Mahāvamsa, XIX, 5-6. ⁹D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, vol. I, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 221-222. However, this term may better be related to Lālārka.
- 10 See above n. 26 of Chapter I. For other views about the identification of Huang-chi, see V. A. Velgus, "Some Problems of the History of Navigation in the Indian Ocean", The Countries and Peoples of the Far East, Moscow, 1974, p. 52.
- 11Ch'ien Han-shu, ch. 28 B, pp. 32 a-b. 1; Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXXI, pt. 2, 1958, p. 20.
- ¹²See above n. 11.
- ¹³See above n. 24 of Chapter I.
- ¹⁵See above n. 26 of Chapter I.
- ¹⁶B. N. Mukherjee, The Kushāṇa Genealogy, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 18, 22 and 26. Such ethnically non-Yüehchih people probably followed the pattern of culture brought as well as adopted by the Yüch-chih (Kushāṇa) people in North-Western India and Indian borderlands.
- 16aS. Ahmed, Mahasthan, Dacca, 1975, pl. XVI, no. a. ¹⁷On a similar type of terracotta object (no. T 9544 in the Asutosh Museum) we can notice on one side a lady holding a couple of fishes and traces of the Brāhmī legend Sa 90 kāhaṇa and a marginal inscription. The other side bears the impression of a seal similar to that on the reverse of item no. T 4312 in the Asutosh
- Museum (no. 37 of the list of inscriptions and fig. 35a-b).
- 18H. W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotani Saka, Cambridge, 1979, p. 183.

 19A. N. Lahiri, Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins, Calcutta, 1965, pl. IX, nos. 8-11.

 20 The term prasastra may also stand for the office of a prasastri "commonly called Mitravaruna, the first assistant of the IX. of the Hotri" (priest) (M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, reprint, Oxford, 1960, p. 695). ²¹D. R. Bhandarkar (revisor), Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings,
 - New Delhi, 1981, pl. XIX.

- 22B. N. Mukherjee, The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Empire, Calcutta, 1988 (cited below was RFKE). pp. 312f. and 336.
- 23K'ang T'ai, Fu-nan-chuan, quoted in the Shui-Ching-Chu, sec. 55; L. Petech, Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu, Rome, 1950, p. 53.
- 24Fa-hsien, Fo-Kuo chi, ch. XXXVII.
- 25See above n. 33 of Chapter I.
- ²⁶B. N. Mukherjee, The Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 31-34.
 ²⁷B. N. Mukherjee, "Inscribed 'Mahābodhi Temple' Plaque from Kumrahar", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, ns., vol. XIV, 1984-85, pp. 43f.
- 28F. E. Pargiter, The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford, 1913, p. 54; B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, Calcutta, 1942, p. 205.
- ²⁹RFKE, p. 314. ³⁰D. G. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 351-352.
- 31 Ibid., p. 265.
- 32 Ibid., p. 266.
- ³³Ibid., p. 283.
- 33aThe Milindapañha refers to the dues paid by a sailor visiting different ports of some countries including Vanga (VI, 21, 360).
- 34See above n. 23.
- 35For the use of the term dramga in the sense of "an office", see T. Burrow, The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge, 1937, p. 98.
- 36 Indian Archaeology, 1957-58, A Review, New Delhi, 1958, pl. LXXII; Betar (a) Jagat, 18-30 September, 1984. p. 628 and back cover.
- ³⁷Ptolemy, Geographike Huphegesis, VII, 1, 74; Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 333.
- ^{37a}See also S. S. Biswas, Terracotta Art of Bengal, New Delhi, 1981 (cited below as TAB), p. 160.
- 37b Ibid., p. 160; pl. XIII and pl. XIV, no. a. A lady riding on a ram (ibid., pl. XIV, no. b) may be taken as a representation of the consort of Agni.
- 38 Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Noakhali, Dacca, 1977, pl. facing p. 82. For a few icons of Bengal of the pre-Gupta phase see S. K. Saraswati, Early Sculpture of Bengal, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1961 (cited below as ESB), pp. 11f.
- ³⁹See also ESB, p. 12 and pl. I, no. 3. We do not know whether an elephant in terracotta, to whom a round sweet meat (modaka) is being offered by a lady (TAB, pl. Xb), is a representation of Ganeśa.
- 40R. Mukherjee, "A Winged Figure from Tamluk", Journal of the Varendra Research Museum, vol. VII, 1981-82, pp. 95 f. and fig. 1.
- 40a TAB, pp. 158-159; pl. XI, nos. a-b.
- ⁴¹R. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 98 and figs. 9-10. See also P. K. Mandal, Interpretation of Terracottas from Tamluk, Tamluk, 1987, pp. 18-19.
- ⁴²Indian Archaeology, 1965-66, A Review, New Delhi, 1973, pl. XLV, B.
- 42a TAB, pl. IX, no. b.
- 43 Ibid., pl. XLV, no. a. See also P. K. Mandal, op. cit., p. 20.
- 44See P. K. Mandal, op. cit., pp. 20-24; TAB, p. 162 and pls. XVI and XVIII.
- 45 Indian Archaeology, 1957-58, A Review, New Delhi, 1958, p. 51 and pl. LXXIII, n. A. See also 1963-64 (New Delhi, 1967), p. 64; P. K. Mandal, op. cit., pp. 28 and 76.
- 46See our article "Gangā Yuge Yuge" in the Ananda Bazar(a) Patrikā, 17 June, 1987, pp. 9 and 14.
- 47 Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, pp. 22f.
- ⁴⁸ESB, p. 12 and fig. 1. See also P. K. Mondal, op. cit., p. 26. The scene of nativity of the Buddha is portrayed on a terracotta plaque from Haroa, probably of the pre-Gupta age (TAB, pl. XXX, no. d). ⁴⁹Fo-kuo chi, ch. XXXVII. See also TAB, pp. 192-193 and pl. LX.
- 50According to the Acharāngasūtra, Mahāvīra was given a hostile reception in Lādha (=Rādha, in or near Vanga). (See R.C. Majumdar, History of Ancient Bengal, Calcutta, 1971. p. 25.) For a terracotta figure of a Jaina Tirthamkara (?), see TAB, p. 193; pl. LXI, no. c. A figure of Naigamesha is reported to have been unearthed at Mangalkote.
- 50aA double faced head on a small square pedestal and with a ring placed on it was found at Tamluk (TAB, pl. LIX, no. c). This figure of Janus (the Roman God of beginnings) and perhaps also the female deity in chiton on a sèal (object n. 17 of our list) may indicate knowledge of some foreign deities.
- ⁵¹P. K. Mandal, op. cit., p. 31 and pl. 14. Mandal dates the plaque to the Sunga age. But there is no definite evidence in favour of this dating. It can be stylistically placed only in the pre-Gupta age.
- ⁵²Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review, New Delhi, 1955, p. 20; 1973-74 (New Delhi, 1979), p. 33; 1957-58 (New Delhi, 1958), pp. 51-53; 1958-59 (New Delhi, 1959), pp. 55-56; 1961-62 (New Delhi, 1964),

pp. 62-67; 1962-63 (New Delhi, 1965), pp. 46-47; 1963-64 (New Delhi, 1967), pp. 64-65; 1965-66 (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 59-60; 1966-67 (New Delhi, 1975), p. 48; etc.

53 Ibid., 1965-66, p. 66. 54 Ibid., 1964-65, p. 52.

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55 Information supplied by the excavators (Dr. A. Ray and S. Mukherjee). See also A. Ray and S. Mukherjee (editors), Historical Archaeology, A Dialogue between Archaeologists and Historians, New Delhi, 1990, p. 135 and fig. 8.

56 Indian Archaeology, 1963-64-A Review, New Delhi, 1967, p. 64-65. 57P. K. Mandal, op. cit., p. 31 and pls. 12 and 13; TAB, pl. XLII.

58 The feasibility of such a name is supported by such expressions as dronavāpa and kulyavāpa used in some inscriptions of the Gupta age. In this connection see also the Arthasastra (II, 19), which mentions kuduvā (Kulyavāpa) as one of the units for measuring paddy. The vessel bearing the inscription numbered 2 can contain 70 gms. of seeds of a variety of paddy.

58a TAB, pp. 167-169; pls. XXIX and XXX, no. a. 58bESB, pp. 10f and 93f; TAB, pls. XVIII, LXV, etc.

58cS. K. Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, 2nd edition, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 74f.

58d*ESB*, pp. 93f.

59B. N. Mukherjee and P. K. D. Lee, Technology of Indian Coinage, Calcutta, 1988, p. 73.

60 Arthaśsātra, II, 13.

61 Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses, sec. 63.

62 A-thaśāstra, II, 1f.

63 Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, sec. 63.

64 Ibid.

65Strabo, Geographikon, XV, I, II; Ptolemy, Geographike Huphegesis, VII, 1, 73; Wei-Lüeh (T'oung Pao, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 520). See also E.B. Cowell, The Jātaka, vol. IV, Cambridge, 1901, no. 442, p. 10; no. 466, p. 100; R. C. Majumdar, History of Ancient Bengal, p. 344; Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. XVI, 1974, pp. 92f.

65a TAB, pl. XXIX, n. b; P. K. Mandal, op. cit., pl. 9; pp. 34-35. See also figures 6, 13, etc. printed here. 66This is indicated by the Mahāvamsa, XIX, 5-6. In the second half of the 7th century the same route was followed by I-tsing.

67 Periplus, sec. 44; Angavijjā, XXXIII, 5.

⁶⁸Periplus, sec. 63; The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, vol. XLVIII, 1986, pp. 77-78.

⁷⁰B. N. Mukherjee "Coins in Pre-Gupta Bengal", Srudies in Archaeology, Papers Presented in Memory of P. C. Dasgupta (edited by A. K. Datta), New Delhi, 1991, pp. 290f; Aitihasika, vol. IV, nos. 3-4, 1988, pp.1 f. ⁷¹B. N. Mukherjee, "Trade, Traders and Media of Exchange in Pre-Gupta Vanga", Coinage, Trade and Economy (edited A. K. Jha), Nasik, 1991, pp. 48f. The cast pieces with Kushāṇa types belong to the so-called Puri-Kushāņa series

⁷²Artebus Asiae, vol. XIV, p. 235.

73In the post-Gupta age and in the Pāla-Sena period units of silver dust or ingot of 32 ratis were used as kārshāpaņas (Indian Museum Bulletin, 1982, vol. XVII, pp. 68f).

74Fo-kuo chi, ch. XVI. 75 Periplus, sec. 63.

76 Ch'ien Han-shu, ch. 28B, pp. 32a-b. See above nn. 10 and 11.

76aIn the early mediaeval period cowries were received from Maldivi in exchange of rice.

77 Periplus, sec. 60.

77aPtolemy, op cit, VII, 1, 16. The credit of recognising the importance of the locality of Manikpatna as the site of an early port (perhaps that of Paloura) goes to Prof. K. S. Behara. A small section of the site (in the southern region of the Puri District) has been recently excavated by Mr. Debraj Pradhan. I am grateful to him for allowing me to examine the materials unearthed here. In the light of the above noted evidence of Ptolemy and the inscribed potsherd from Manikpatna one may ponder over the origin of the name of Minagara (Minanagara), placed by him somewhere on the coast to the north (or north-east) of the mouth of the Manda river (VII, I, 16-17) or the Mahānadī and so not very far from Vanga. Was Minagara a settlement of a group of people of Scythic and "north-western" origin (since the name is known to have been used to denote a few cities of Scythian or Parthian association in that territory and in the Indian borderlands)? (See Isidore of Charax, Stathmoi Parthikoi, sec. 18; Periplus, secs. 38 and 41; Ptolemy, op. cit., VII, 1, 63). It is interesting to note that a Kharoshti inscription from Harinarayanpur refers to a person as Sa'a=Saka (State Museum, West Bengal, no. K50).

78 Milindapañha, VI, 21, 360. See also n. 81.

79Fo-kuo chi, ch. XXXVII.

80 Mahāvamsa, XIX, 23. See also R. A. L. Gunawardana, "Changing Patterns of Navigation in the Indian Ocean", The Indian Ocean, Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics (edited by Satish Chandra), New

Delhi, 1987, pp. 60f.

81 A few Jātakas (nn. 442 and 539) refer to persons from Vārāṇasī or Champā going on ship to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (in lower Burma) for trade. They had to pass through Vanga. The Mahāniddesa (the suggested date of which varies from c. 3rd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.) refers to several ports and countries (with ports) like Gumba, Takkola (Takola of Ptolemy), Vesunga (Ptolemy's Besynga), Java (Ptolemy's Iabadiou), Tāmali (Temala of Ptolemy), Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Tambapaṇṇi, Vanga, Suppara, Bharukachchha, etc. (1, 15, 174; S. Lévi, "Ptolémée, Le Niddesa et la Brihatkathā", Etudes Asiatiques, vol. II (edited by G. Van Oest), Paris, 1925, pp. 1-55; Sino-Indian Studies, vol. II, 2, p. 61; K. A. N. Sastri (editor), A Comprehensive History of India, vol. II, Calcutta, 1957, p. 771). Though this evidence does not prove Vanga's direct contact with others, the possibility of relations with at least some of them cannot be denied. The first six of the above localities or territories were in S.E. Asia, while the last two were in Western Deccan. Of the S.E. Asian ports again, Tāmali-Temala emporium (near a cape) in the Argyra country (Ptolemy, op. cit., VII, 2, 3) was to the north of cape Negrais in S.W. Burma, while Vesuinga = Besynga emporium was on the Sabarakos Gulf (Ptolemy, op. cit., VII, 2, 4) or the Gulf of Martaban (S. N. Majumdar Sastri, McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 196-197). Vanga might have followed coastal trading with these ports.

A passage in the Ch'ien Han-shu refers to journeys from the barriers of Jin-nan (Tonkin) [i.e. from Hsü-wen and Ho-p'u (near Canton)] to I-lu-mo and thence to the kingdom of Shen-li (on the east coast of Malay peninsula). Then travelling on foot one could reach the kingdom of Fu-kan-tu-lu (on the western coast of the peninsula). From here a sea voyage could take one to the kingdom of Huang-chih (Ganges or Vanga country). The whole journey from China to Huang-chih took about a year (Ch'ien Han-shu, ch. 28 B, pp. 23 a-b; Wang Gangwu, op. cit., pp. 19-20; A Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, Taipei, pp. 22-23 and 26-27; H. B. Sarkar, Trade and Commercial Activities of Southern India in the Malayo-Indonesian World, Calcutta, 1986, p. 127). According to the Ch'ien Han-shu (ch. 28B, pp. 32a-b), these countries used to bring tributes to the Chinese court "ever since the time of the emperor Wu-ti" (140-87 B.C.). This would mean that the indirect contacts between China and these areas commenced by c. 87 B.C. But several scholars believe that the reference to Wu-ti in the passage concerned is an interpolation (Wang Gangwu, op. cit., p. 20; V. A. Velgus, op. cit., p. 50f; etc.). But there is no doubt that China's contact with Huang-chih commenced by A.D. 2 (Ch'ien Han-shu, ch. 28B, p. 32b; Wang Gungwu, op. cit., p. 20). Thus China's indirect contacts with Huang-chih (Gangā or Vanga country) began by

the early 1st century A.D.

The Periplus mentions, in course of its description of the Ganges country, an area "about or near it" called Khruse situated in the last part "of the mainland towards the east". The text also locates an island called Khruse in the ocean and "by (or in) the river (Ganges) itself" (auton de ton potamon) (sec. 62). Such contradictory descriptions can be reconciled only by assuming direct communications between the Ganges country (or a port of it on the Ganges) and Khruse Khora (Suvarnabhūmi) and Khruse nesos (Suvarnadvipa) in S. E. Asia. Similarly the statement in the Wei-Lüeh locating Yi-pou (or Yavadvipa = Java) "near" the Han-yueh (or Ganges) kingdom suggests maritime link between them (T'oung Pao, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 552; no. 26 of Chapter I). In this connection see also H. B. Sarkar's articles in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1972 (pp. 74f) and 1974 (pp. 177f).

82Ptolemy, op. cit., VII, 2, 7; Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1974, p. 143.
 83B. N. Mukherjee, "A Kharoshţī-Brāhmī Seal-Matrix from Oc-èo (S-E Asia)", Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society, June, 1990, pp. 1-9.

84L. Malleret, L'Archaéologie du Delta du Mékong, vol. II, Paris, 1960, p. 383; vol. III, Paris, 1962, pl. LXI, n. 652; Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society, June, 1990, p. 3. The inscription has been read as Adamiharans' (engraved in reverse).

85 The information and also a photograph of the seal have been kindly supplied by Mrs. Himangshu Prabha Ray of Delhi. The seal displays a seated figure and a legend in Kharoshī-Brāhmī, which can be read as Dhata'ava. It seems to be a personal name (Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society, December, 1990, pp. 1f.). A carnelian bead found at another site seems to bear a Kharoshtī inscription (Tisdlhe'a or Tisadhu'a) (The Silpakorn Journal, vol. 33, no. 1, 1989, p14; Encyclopaedia of Southern Culture, Vol. 8, 1986, p. 3227).

It may be added here a potsherd unearthed at a burial site at Sembiran (Bali) bears a fragmentary

Kharoshti legend (fig. 79) (Antiquity, vol. LXV, 1991, p. 225).

86 During the reign of the Wei emperor Wu Ti (A. D. 424-452) the Ta Yüch-chih merchants used to trade in the "northern capital" (Pei shu, ssu pu ts'ung k'an edition, ch. 97, pp. 8a-b; Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XXII, 1960, p. 347). We do not know whether among such Yiich-chih merchants

there were some traders from Thagora in S.E. Asia (see above n. 82 and also n. 81). 87 See above n. 23.

88The ship by which Fa-hsien travelled to Simhala from Vanga was owned by an Indian, if not by a person settled in Vanga. Among the early sailors of Vanga we may include Mahanavika Budhagupta of Raktameittika (near Chiroti in the Murshidabad district). His seal inscription of c. 5th century A.D. was discovered in Malay peninsula (D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 497; S. R. Das, Rajbadidanga: 1962, Calcutta, 1968, p. 43). A seal, displaying a ship, bears a Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscription stating that "let you worship the Brahmins while at sea" (fig. 63). It appears that the inscription implores the sailors, professing a Brahmanical faith, to pray to the Brahmins while facing trouble in a sea-voyage. Such sailors could have belonged to Vanga. It is interesting to note that Buddhist Fa-hsien thought of kwan-she yin (Avalokitesvara) "with all his heart" whenever he was in difficulty during

his sea voyages (Fo-kuo chi, ch. XL).

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89Prof. G. von Mitterwallner has kindly drawn my attention to a Sasanian silver bowl bearing a Kharoshti-Brāhmī inscription as well as a scene of hunting of lions (or rather lionesses) and deer by a Sasanian prince (?). The bowl was found long ago in Swat (now in Pakistan) (Archaeologia, 2nd series, vol. XIII, 1912, pp. 251-256; pl. XXXVII, fig. 2). Prof. Mitterwallner reads the inscription as Khambhinugaka and dates it to about the second quarter of the 5th century A.D. Here only the letters ga is in Kharoshti. We intend to decipher the inscription as S(r)igāņugako (<Sigāņugako <Simghāņugako <Simhānugakah), meaning "the person who goes after (i.e. the persuer of) lions". Such an interpretation tallies well with the scene of hunting. The inscription of c. 5th century A.D. seems to be a descriptive label rerferring to the activity of a Sasanian prirce depicted on the bowl (fig. 80a). Another Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscription (Judeyadānasa) is noticeable as engraved on a semi-precious stone found somewhere in the north-west (fig. 80). It is palaeographically datable to c. 1st or rather 2nd century A.D. In this connection see our article ("Kharoshti-Brāhmi Inscriptions from the North-West") to be published shortly in the Viśvambhara (edited by A. M. Shastri, D. Haæda and R. N. Misra).

⁹⁰For information on India's maritime contacts with S. E. Asia during the period concerned, see H. P. Ray "Early Maritime Contacts Between South and South-East Asia", Journal of South-East Asian Studies, vol. XX, n. 1, 1989, pp. 42-53; "Seafaring in the Bay of Bengal in the Early Centuries A.D.", Studies in History, vol. VI, n. 1 (n. 5), 1990, pp. 1-14; "Early Trade in Bay of Bengal", The Indian Historical

Review, vol. XIV, nos. 1-2, pp. 79f; R.A.L. Gunawardana, op. cit., pp. 54f.

CHAPTER IIÎ

EPILOGUE

IT is interesting to note that a few scholars made in the last three decades some wild guesses about the possibility of occurrence of Kharoshṭī inscriptions on certain objects found in West Bengal. The Late Paresh Chandra Dasgupta suggested, without giving any reason, that a particular seal carried a Kharoshṭī legend.¹ The Late M.A. Jabbar wrongly described a Brāhmī inscription on a seal as written in Kharoshṭī.² The Late Debkumar Chakrabarti presumed (without giving any cogent argument) a legend on a seal as consisting of Kharoshṭī letters.³ Actually it is written in the "Mixed" script (no. 17 of the list of inscriptions in Appendix I).

Such wild guesses, justifiably unrecongnised by the world of reasons, are no longer necessary. The use of Kharoshti in the region of lower West Bengal for a certain period is now a reality. Our researches have established that from about the second half of the 1st century A.D. to the early 5th century A.D. the Kharoshti script and a form of North-Western Prakrit were in use in some areas of the territory concerned, which was then included in Vanga. The relevant inscriptions not only indicate some variations of forms of known letters, but also add a letter (\$\sin\$) (or more than one character?) to the list of the Kharoshti script. It is also known, for the first time, that the Kharoshti using people, hailing from the north-western section of the subcontinent, also introduced a "mixed" script consisting of Kharoshti and Brāhmi letters.

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The first stratified discovery of a Kharoshtī inscription in West Bengal was made by the Late Paresh Chandra Dasgupta in course of an excavation at Pandurajar dhivi in the Burdwan district (no. 3 of our list). He, however, could not recognise the true character of the legend on the relevant stone seal and made the wild guess, following M. Ridley, that it (the seal) belonged to Aetea (Chapter I, section D).⁴ The truth is that the legend is in easily readable Kharoshtī letters (no. 3 of our list).

Similarly, the first discovery of a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription was made by K.G. Goswami in course of an excavation at Bangarh (now in the West Dinajpur district). He, however, could not read the legend on the relevant seal (no. 5 of our list). Our researches have proved the historicity of the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script, mentioned probably as the Vimiśrita-lipi (Mixed script) in the Lalitavistara (Chapter I).

The data collected so far have added an altogether new dimension to Kharoshti studies. For a long time we know of North-Western and Central Asian Kharoshti. Now we are acquainted with Eastern Kharoshti and also with a "mixed" script, consisting of Kharoshti and Brāhmi letters. It may also be noted that the Brāhmi characters in the "Mixed" script and also in legends appearing along with Kharoshti inscriptions on various objects help us in our study of the Brāhmi palaeography in the zone and period concerned. The datable forms of the Brāhmi letters in such inscriptions also render assistance in dating the accompanying Kharoshti legends and the legends including Kharoshti as well as Brāhmi characters.

The importance of the inscriptions for the early history of Bengal (West Bengal and Bangladesh) can hardly be overestimated (Chapter II). They together appear to

form the greatest single source for our knowledge about the history of the post-Maurya and pre-Gupta Bengal (where was ancient Vanga).

The number of known inscriptions in Eastern Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī is now well over a hundred. Systematic excavations and explorations in the potential areas (like Chandraketugarh, Tamluk, etc.) and a close scrutiny of antiquities in different public and private collections in West Bengal are likely to yield many more relevant records, including perhaps long inscriptions on stone. The Archaeological Survey of India, Directorate of Archaeology in West Bengal and Indian Museum (Calcutta) and also the interested scholars should make attempts at these directions.⁶

NOTES

- ¹P. C. Dasgupta, Archaeological Discoveries in West Bengal, A Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology in West Bengal, no. 1, Calcutta, 1963, p. 2.
- ²M. A. Jabbar, Vālandā-Chandraketu Itikathā, Hādoa, 1390 B.S., p. 51; see also p. 40.

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- ³The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, vol. XXXIX, p. 134; pl. IX, no. 6. ⁴P. G. Dasgupta, The Excavations at Pandurajar Dhibi, Calcutta, 1964, pp. 27-29; pl. XVII.
- ⁵K. G. Goswami, Excavations at Bangarh (1338-41), Calcutta, 1948, p. 13; pl. XXIV, no. 5.
 ⁶A note of caution should be recorded here. Of late inscribed objects are occasionally brought by dealers from the district of 24 Parganas (North) for sale to the museums and private collectors in Calcutta, the authenticity of many of which may be liable to suspicion. Defects in palaeographic features, language and technical details in such alleged. Kharoshti and Kharoshti-Brāhmi inscriptions indicate that
- some technical details in such alleged Kharoshţī and Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscriptions indicate that these are modern forgeries. These have been forged obviously by some dishonest persons for securing easy market after the relevant discovery became well-known in their area (in the district of 24 Parganas North) by the middle of 1990. So the interested scholars should be careful while dealing with apparently relevant materials which are claimed to have been uncarthed in the Chandraketigarh area after the
- middle of 1990 and/or which are without reliable testimonies about their findspots.

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

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THE inscriptions in Kharoshtī, Kharoshtī-Brāhmī and/or in Kharoshtī along with Brāhmī legends appear, as noted above, on vessels (pots, jars, and saucers) or their fragments, seals and plaques and also a few miscellaneous items. The term "seal" has been applied by us not only to some round (or nearly or irregularly circular) objects engraved or stamped on one side with legend or legends and sometimes also devices, but also to those bearing impressions of matrices on both the sides (obverse and reverse) and sometimes stamped and/or engraved letters on the edge. From the point of view of the purpose of issue, the seals may be divided, as noted above, into at least eight classes (section B of Chapter I).

Of the known specimens only one item (a seal) is perhaps made of steatite or soapstone and two (a seal and a matrix?) are cut out of pieces of bone (see nos. 53 and 64 below). The rest are in terracotta. The latter are made of plastic clay containing enough amount of alluminium silicate for resisting heat at the time of firing in kilns. They must have been placed there after having been fashioned in clay. The properly fired products are hard and durable, though only to a certain extent in cases of saucers, pots and jars. These are of various shapes and sizes, often comparable with similar objects of the late Saka-Pahlava and Kushāṇa age (c. 1st to 3rd centuries A.D.) unearthed in the northwestern section of the Indian subcontinent. Among these are copies of amphora and rouletted ware [Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review, New Delhi, 1955, pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII (a); 1957-58, New Delhi, 1958, pl. LXXII; Betār (a) Jagat, Calcutta, 16-30 September, 1984, p. 628 and back cover]. Inscriptions on them apparently allude to the names of potters or owners or the nature of their utility.

The engraved objects appear to have been incised before or after firing. The letters with shallow or superficial cutting may have been the results of post-firing engraving. The stamping of matrices on clay objects seems to have been done before firing. Some of the impressions are excellent, apparently due to careful use of well-executed matrices on adequately prepared objects. Blurred or unclear impressions may be considered as results of careless stamping.

Seals and some other objects often display devices and symbols as well as legends. Among the important devices, we may include the " $y\bar{u}pa(?)$," "boat", "ship", "stalks of grain", etc. "Conch", "svastika", "sign of tauros", etc, appear apparently as auspicious symbols.

The vast majority of the objects have been found in the Chandraketugarh area of the district of 24-Parganas (North). A few have been reported from the district of 24-Parganas (South). Some have been unearthed in the Tamluk area of the Midnapore district. Excavations at Pandurajar dhibi (Burdwan district), Bangarh (now in the West Dinajpur district) and Mahasthan (Bogra district, Bangladesh) have yielded one seal at each of the sites.

All the relevant objects, excepting two, have been found in lower West Bengal. So Kharoshtī and also the "Mixed" script must have been used for a certain period in that zone. The main users of the scripts were perhaps in the Chandraketugarh area. As noted above, the period ranged from about the second half of the 1st century A.D. to early 5th century A.D. (section C of Chapter I).

We have so far gathered knowledge about well over a hundred objects bearing inscriptions in either or both of the scripts in question. These are now in different public and private collections, including the Indian Museum, Calcutta (IM), Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University (AM), Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal (DA, W.B.), State Museum, Calcutta (SM), Bhuban Museum and Art Gallery, Calcutta, Balanda Museum, Haroa (24-Parganas North), Tamluk Museum and Research Centre, Tamluk (Midnapore district) (TMRS), Rajanikānta Jñānamandir(a) Samgrahaśālā evam Gaveshaṇākendra, Dharas (Midnapore district) (RJ), Chandraketugarh Samgrahaṣālā, Devalaya (24-Parganas North) (CS), Collections of G.S. De, Harba (24-Parganas North) and N. Nath, Habra (24-Parganas North).

The objects examined by us so far can be classified as follows:

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No.	Name of th	e Collection	n	1 Seals	2 Vessels, dishes and potsherds	3 Plaques and miscellaneous items
1.	IM			4	32	_
2.	AM			. 16	_	_
3.	DA, W.B			7		_
4.	SM			4	6	_
5.	Bhuban Museum a	and Art Gal	lery	1	1	_
6.	Balanda Museum			2	1	_
7.	TMRS					2
8.	RJ					1
9.	CŠ			4	1	
10.	N. Nath's collectio	n		3	_	-
11.	G. S. De's collection	n (excludin	g those			
	which have been t			9	31	4
12.	Other private colle			5		1
				55	72	8

Beside these hundred and thirty-five items we have seen photographs of (a) one engraved, one stamped and three incised as well as stamped potsherds unearthed during excavations at Tamluk (Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review, pl. XXXVIII, no. A), (b) one stamped seal from Chandraketugarh (D.K. Maite, Chandraketugad, pl. V) and one stamped seal from Mahāsthangarh (N. Ahmed, Mahasthan, 2nd edition, Dacca, 1975, pl. XVI, no. A). Intensive survey of all collections and potential areas in lower West Bengal, particularly in the two districts of 24-Parganas, are likely to bring to light many more items with Kharoshtī and/or Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions.

We are publishing here a list of select items, furnishing details about their findspots, present depositions, shape, size, nature, contents of the incised legends and/or stamped impressions, dates, etc. In cases of Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions the parent script of each character is indicated by the letter K (for Kharoshṭī) or B (for Brāhmī) or in the instances of conjuncts, by KK, BB or KB (indicating compound letters consisting of two characters in Kharoshṭī or Brāhmī or one in Kharoshṭī and the other in Brāhmī). The affiliation to Kharoshṭī or Brāhmī of the medial vowel signs, subscript y and r, superscript r and anusvāra(m) (of the Kharoshṭī script), attached to a letter, are indicated within brackets after pointing out its parent script.

				The second secon
1	2	3	4	5
Sl. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
1.	Parvatipur, near Tamluk (Midnapore district); TMRS; 206.	Terracotta; irregular; 3×4.5 cms.; plaque.	A fragmentary inscription in Kharoshţi L. 1— L. 2—eyadaja. L. 3—jadada (or dha) —khaspajida ka (?) L. 4—daja (or ji) \$\delta(dha) jadana\(\text{(fig. 1)}\)	C. Second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.
2.	Hadipur (24 Parganas North); IM; 89/31.	Terracotta; pitcher-like pot; ht.—23 cms; diameter of the mouth—12 cms; pot.	A small pitcher in grey colour (with a slip in black), completely preserved excepting a slight damage in the rim; comparable with similar objects from Taxila (J. Marshall, Taxila, vol. III, pl. 121); a human face, produced by stamping an intagliated matrix, is noticeable on the body of the pitcher; near the neck an incised inscription in Kharoshtī, written cursively and swiftly and probably after the firing of the pot; the inscription, to be read from the top of the pitcher (or having it placed upside down), is as follows-vapaya yośa (=Vapaya [ko]śa < Vapāya kośah), meaning "a vessel for a sower"). (fig. 2 and e.c. 3).	C. late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. (The Statesman, Calcutta, 8.7.89, p. 12; The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta, vol. XXIX, no. 2, p. 8; News Letter, Indian Museum, vol. I, no. 2, 1989, p. 1.).
3.	Pandurajar dhivi (Burdwan district); found during an excavation and at a level dated to Period IV; DA, WB.	Steatite (?); round; diameter-2 cms.; religious token (?); seal, class VI.	A wavy line (representing a river?), an aquatic animal with fins (?) and a phallus-like object (Sivalinga), and above these a Kharoshti inscription engraved with letters placed slantingly— Υ^a 'añe dadava, (= Υ^a ajñe > jaj añe > ja^a añe through the process of anaptyxis] dātavyā [mudrā], meaning "[the seal] to be given during an act of worship or sacrifice," (fig. 3 and e.c. 1).	C. late 1st century A.D. This was wrongly identified several years ago as a seal of Aetea (M. Ridley, The Seal of Aetea and the Minoan scripts, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 16f; P. C. Das Gupta, The Excavations at Pandurajar Dhivi, Calcutta, 1963, p. 27).
4.	Chandraketugarh (24 Parganas, North); Bhuvan Art Galley and Museum, Calcutta.	Terracotta; irregular; extant piece measuring 7.4×12×7.5 cms.; potsherd.	A portion of a clay pot with sections of three (concentric) lines near the rim and a fragmentary Kharoshtī inscription incised below them—ja'adha Makateke Vajtra dvr(i)je dhadh(e)(= Jayanto Makatah eko Vastrah dvijah) (fig. 4 and e.c. 5). The inscription seems to refer to a victorious Brahmin from Maka called Vastra (Vajtra). Can he be taken as a Maga Brāhmaṇa? Was he victorious in religious debates?	C. late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. [Moniely Butletin, The Asiatic Society, (cited below as MB, AS), August, 1989, p. 5].
5.	Bangarh (West Dinajpur District); unearthed during an excavation; AM; 1035.	Terracotta; nearly circular object bearing the impression of a round seal with the diameter of 4·1 cms.; a trader's identification ticket (?); seal, class iii.	The seal impression displays within a circular border a vessel containing stalks of grain; a conch and taurine symbol are respectively in the upper right field and upper left field; a Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscription, to be read from outside and from left to right, is as follows— (IX) Sasadhi (or dhe) dhi (or dhe) tha dhālī [B, B, K(B); K(B), K; B(B), B(B)] (=Sasyādi-dhritasthālī), meaning	C. 2ud century A.D. [K. G. Goswami, Excavations at Bangarh (1938-41), Calcutta, 1948, pl. XXIV, no. 5].

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		"a vessel containing grain, etc.") (fig. 5 and e.c. 7).	
		On the reverse we can notice a groove, created probably by the insertion of a cord used for attaching the object to some consignment as an identification ticket.	
5. Chandraketugarh; DA, W.B.; CKG 184.	Terracotta; nearly round object of dull red colour bearing the impression of a circular seal with the diameter of 3.2 cms.; a trader's identification ticket; seal, class iii.	The seal impression displays within a decorated circular border a masted ship, flying a banner; a stalk of grain and a taurine symbol in the right and left fields respectively; a Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscription, to be read from outside and from left to right as follows—(X) Jidhatradhana Juŝatrasa tridhesojatrā [B(B), K, B(B), K, B; B(B), B, B(B), B; B(BB), K(K), K(K), K, B(B)] (= Jitatradhana-Yaŝodasya trideŝayātrā), meaning "the journey to (or in) three directions of (i.e. by) Yaŝoda, who has earned food-wealth" (i.e. whose wealth is carned by selling food) (fig. 6a and e	C. 3rd century A.D.
		On the other side a groove, like the one on the reverse of no. 5, is noticeable (fig. 6b).	
7. Hadipur; IM; 89/45.	Terracotta; part of the base of a dish; 7-1 cms. in length; pottery.	A part of the base of a dish of light grey colour bearing the impression of an oval seal matrix (2·7×1·6 cms.) displaying a Kharoshṭi-Brāhmi legend written in two vertical columns; it can be read as (col. II on right) Saṇava (?) (col. II on left) Vavayo (ṇa, the only Brāhmī letter, written with a slant towards right) (=Saṇavaḥ Vavayaḥ), meaning "Vavaya, the Great (or Lord)" (fig. 7).	C. 4th century A.D. The word śanava may le related to the epithet sanab, appearing on a group of coins of the Kushāna ruler Miaos. The latter term may le connected with Irania xshavan ("lord", "king etc.) or with the title transliterated into Chiras shan-yū ("broad a great") (B. N. Mukher, Kushāna Silver Coinage, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 15 and 28).
8. Hadipur (?); a private collection.	Terracotta; cube; a square on each side measuring 1.5 × 1.5 cm.; an object of art.	A terracotta cube with an impression stamped on each side. (a) Two horses, about to jump over the railing guarding a tree, turning their heads to a person riding on one of them (probably being restrained by their reins held by the rider); a legend in Kharoshti in the left field-Dhesido (=desitah, meaning "instructed") (fig. 8a). (b) A male figure (a deity?) sits on a high pedestal; a legend in Kharoshti in the left field—Dhamosa (=Damesa, "Lord of the house") (fig. 8 b). (c) A Kharoshti inscription which can be read as Jetha (=Jyeshthah,	C. 1st century A.D.

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SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
			(d) A male figure (a deity?) stands facing to front flanked by	

(d) A male figure (a deity?) stands facing to front flanked by a lotus plant on one side and a banana plantain on the other; he holds a lance by his right hand; the figure of a horse behind the banana plantain on the right (fig. 8d).

- (e) a yūpa-like object and an indistinct Brāhmī legend.
- (f) Same as on on e.

 Chandraketugarh; Balanda Museum, Haroa. Terracotta; nearly round; diameter—10 inch; personal badge; seal, class i.

One side of the object stamped with the impression of a circular seal displaying within a border of dots the sign of a svastika and a branch of a tree with flowers and above these an inscription in two lines and also a marginal legend. The first, in the Mixed script, can be read as (1-1) Kodihāliko (1-2) Karachugmā (or Karaphagmā). [B(B), B(B); B(B), B(B), B; B, B, B(B) or G, KB(B)]. Three letters in the first line are interestingly embellished to simulate ears of grain. A stalk of grain adorns the place immediately before the first letter of the inscription. The inscription refers to one Karachhugmā or Karaphagmā (if you read Greek phi in place of Brāhmī chhu) as one "who has a crore of ploughmen" [working under him].

The marginal legend, also in the Mixed script, can be read from inside and left to right as (I) Korisajidha jethanatasya, dhv(i) jade [va]rishitane.

[B(B), B(B), K, B(B), K; B(B), K, B, B, B, B(B); BB(B), B, B(B)]

[broken] B, B(B), B, B(B)]

[= Karrisajita-jyeshtha-natasya (or natasya) dvija-de[va]rishi-tane, meaning "of [the one who is-] the conqueror of the lord of the elephant [and] submissive to the elders (or the chief actor); for [i.e. issued praying for] the continuation (or propagation) of the Brahmins, gods and ascetics") (fig. 9a).

The Brāhmī inscription Surijīka is engraved on the other side of the object. The arrangement of the letters of this inscription is like that of the characters in a so-called Shell inscription. The letters su (sa+u) and ji (ja+i) are oriented anti-clockwise to about 45°, while the letter ri (ra+i) is placed upside down. Traces of Ko(ka+o) can be noticed immediately after the

C. 3rd century A.D.

3 2 5 Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class Provenance, Present Description and Comments Date (on the basis of SI. Deposition and Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and No. Accession No. References oriented position of ii. The word surijiko (= surijikah) means "excellent Indra" or "the very Indra [himself]" (fig. 9b). 10. Chandraketugarh area; Terracotta; nearly round; A pink coloured and nearly round C. 3rd century A.D. The first word of the legend IM: 90/181. diameter of the impression terracotta object bear the impression of the seal stamped on of a seal-matrix. The impression is wrongly inscribed with displays stalks of grain in a basket it-3.5 cms.; a trader's the heads of the letters identification ticket; placed on the board of a (sea-going) pointing outwards. seal, class iii. vessel carrying also a mast fitted with a banner. A conch is placed upside down in the upper right field, after which commences a Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscription readable from right to left and partly from inside and partly from outside. It can be deciphered as outside. It can be deciphered as
(II) Soridhajasā (read from inside)
Dijammasa Jaladhisakla (read from
outside) [K(K), B(B), K, B, B(B);
B(B), B, KK, K; K, B, B(B), K, B(B)]
(=Suridd hayaśā Dvijanmasya Jaladhiśakraḥ, meaning "[the ship called]
Jaladhisakra (i.e. Indra of the ocean) of [i.e. belonging to] Dvijanma who is famous as very wealthy" (fig. 10 and e. c. 9). On the reverse of the object there is a groove as on no. 6. C. 3rd century A.D. Terracotta; nearly round; diameter of the impression An impression of a round seal 11. Chandraketugarh; displays within a decorated circular Between the letters ji and DA, W.B.; CKG 180 (T 687). border a masted ship, a svastika symbol and a marginal legened in na in line I of the legend of a round seal on the appears the ship's obverse-2 cms; a trader's Kharoshti-Brāhmi, written in two lines. The first line can be read from outside and from left to right as anchor with rope. Since identification ticket; the second line st al, class iii. commences with a Tasvodajana Hovaji(no)na T(r)apya [B, KK, K, K, B; K(K), K, K(K), B, B; B(B), B(B)]. The second line is written above the first probably for want of space below it. It begins Kharoshti letter it is to be read from right to left, whereas the first line. beginning with a Brahmi character, is to be read from left to right. above the letter t(r)a of the first line and can be read from right to left as -gasa [K, K] (fig. 11). The legend may be translated as "of [the ship of the class of] Trapyaka, belonging to (i.e. owned by) the power conquering (i.e. powerful) Tasvodaja family" (fig. 11 and e. c. The expression hova- can be connected with the Saka word hawa, "power" (H. W. Bailey, Dictionary

p. 500).

of Kholan Saka, Cambridge, 1979,

On the reverse there are indistinct traces of the impression of an oval seal.

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SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
12.	Berachampa (24 Parganas, North); collection of N. Nath of Habra.	Terracotta; a semi-circular lump with a nearly oval shaped flat top (3×2·7 cms.); an administrative seal; seal, class ii.	On the oval shaped flat top appears the impression of a matrix displaying, within a circular border of railing, a yūpa-like (?) object and a marginal inscription in the Mixed script, which can be meaningfully read only as Gaṇarajhada [B, B, B, B, K] (=Gaṇarājyāt, meaning "from [i.e. of] the Gaṇarājya) (fig. 12).	C. late 1st century A.D. The letters are very well-formed. It appears that the matrix was carefully impressed on the clay object before it was fired.
13.	Chandraketugarh area; collection of G. S. De of Habra.	Terracotta; an impression of a royal seal; seal, class ii.	The round seal impression shows within a circular border of railing a poat (or ship) having a mast fitted with a banner, an auspicious symbol and a marginal legend in Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī. It can be read from outside and left to right as (VIII) Jendhas' jujusya [B(B), KK, KK, B(B), B(B), B(B)] (= Jayanta-Shūhi-Jujoh, meaning "of Juju, the conquering king") (fig. 13).	C. 2nd century A.D. The word jemdha (jemta < jayanta < jayanta < jayanta) (ef. jeti < jayati) has in its second character a combination ma with dha In the third character of the legend an Aramaic or Parthian alchi is placed above šin and is joined with the latter by hook. It probably indicates the full pronunction of the character as š' (ša=šāh, "king").
14.	Chandraketugarh; AM; T 4312.	Terracotta; nearly round; diameter of the impression of a round seal on the obverse—3 cms.; and that on the reverse—2.3 cms.; sale and/or transport permit carrying a royal seal, a seal of a local authority and the name of a trader;	On one side of the object appears a $y\bar{u}pa$ -like device, along with a Brāhmī inscription readable as $Sa 90 K(\bar{a})hana (=Sasyāni 90 kārshāpaṇāni, meaning "grains [of the value of] 90 kārshāpaṇas). The letters of this inscription are decorated with figures simulating ears of paddy. A fragmentary$	C. 2nd century A.D. The mouth of the Kharoshti letter sa at the beginning of the inscription on the edge of the object is wrongly placed facing right (instead of left).

ears of paddy. A fragmentary marginal legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmī may be read from inside as (IV) Śrī-rajha Jadhana....ja [B(BB); K, B; B, K, B; B] (=Śrī-rājah Jatna....jah) (fig. 14 a-b and e.c. 12a 1 and 2). seal, classes iv and ii.

On the reverse a seal impression displays three stalks of grain issuing out of a vessel, flanked by two auspicious symbols. A marginal legend in Kharoshţī-Brāhmī appears legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmī appears below the vessel. It can be read from outside and from left to right as Tirajachaṭā b(o)dhihi [B(B), B, K, B, B(B); B(B), K(B); B(B)] (= Tīrajachaṭāt Bodhibhiḥ, meaning "[issued] by [the] wise [councellors] from Tirajachaṭa") (fig. 14 c and 14 d-1 and e.c. 12b)

The Brāhmī letter va or rather the figure of a ladle is stamped on the edge. It is followed by an incised Kharoshti inscription, which can be read as Sanagivahasa Da'e(va)ñadami'asa (=Sanakinaḥ vāhasya Devajñāta-mitrasya, meaning "of Devajñāta-mitra, the wealthy (or old, i.e. senior) carrier [of merchandise")] (figs. 14 d, 1-3 and e.c. 12 c).

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The yūpa-like device appears also on a seal bearing only a Brāhmi inscription (Lamatisa) (IM).

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il. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palacographic features), Additional Remarks and References
15.	Chandraketugarh; AM; 6.	Terracotta; nearly round; diameter of the impression of a round seal on the obverse is 3.6 cms, and that on the reverse is 2.1 cms.; for nature and class of the object see the remarks relating to no. 14.	On one side (obverse) of the object appears a yūpā-like device, traces of the Brāhmī legend Sa 90 (Kāhaṇā) (see above no. 14) and a fragmentary Brāhmī legend which may be read from inside as (III)Jadhaja. (fig. 15 a-b).	C. 2nd century A.D. The obverse and reverse impressions on nos. 14 and 15 may refer to the same king and local authority.
		remarks relating to no. 11.	The other side (reverse) of the object bears the same devices and traces of perhaps the same inscription as on no. 14 (fig. 15d).	
			The Brāhmī letter ka or Kharoshţī tha is stamped on the edge. After this a Kharoshţī legend is engraved. It can be read as Sana'iva'a Ajasa (=Sanakinaḥ vāyasya Ajasya, meaning "of Aja, the wealthy (or old, i.e. senior) leader" (fig. 15c and 15d).	
16.	Chandraketugarh; AM; T 8906.	Terracotta; nearly round; diameter of the circular seal impression—3.3 cms.; royal seal; seal, class ii.	A terracotta object bearing the impression of a circular seal-matrix bearing a yūpa-like device, traces of the Brāhmī legend (Sa) 90 kā(ha)na (see above no. 14) and a marginal inscription in Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī, which can be read from inside as (II) Juju(ta)ra(ja) Tājaṭā niḍre jaja rāja (B(B), B(B), B, K, B; B(B), B, B(B); B(B), B(B); B, B; R(B), B] (=Tuvayuttarājaḥ Tājaṭāḥ nilejajarājaḥ), meaning "the young attached king (i.e. co-ruller) Tājatā, who is a complete warrior king" (fig. 16, a-b and e.c. 10). The term niḍre can be related to the Khotani Saka word nite, "complete" (H.W. Bailey,	C. 4th century A.D.
17.	Chandraketugarh; DA, W.B.; CKG, 181 (T 732).	Terracotta; nearly round; diameter of the impression of the seal on the obverse is 3 cms. and that on the reverse is 2 cms.; an object stamped with royal and administrative seals, issued probably on the occasion of a Brahmanical sacrifice; seals, classes ii and vi.	op. cit., p. 183). The obverse of the terracotta object bears the impression of a round seal matrix displaying a lady (a female deity?) standing to front by the side of a seated male who holds a mace and wears a skull-cap simulating the head of an elephant with a trunk (as noticeable on the coins of the Indo-Greek king Demetrius I). These appear to be insignia of royalty (fig. 17a-b).	C. carly 5th century A.
			The male figure seems to be referred to in a Kharoshti-Brāhmi legend in the field to the left of the female. It can be read as (L.1) <i>Dhadagajatama</i> (L.2) <i>Ladhape'a</i> [=Dharagajatamah Ladhapeyah, meaning "Lachapeya, the Sustaining Elephant") (no. 17a). On the margin an indistinct marginal legend in Brāhmi can be doubtfully read from outside as (IX) A'udana nesa (ne)uda pra('uṭa) (=odananyāsena udam prayuktam, meaning "water was used by	

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			mixing with boiled rice") (no. 17b) (fig. 17 a-b and e.c. 13-1-2). In the impression on the reverse appear three stalks of grain, issuing out of a vessel, two auspicious symbols and a marginal legend in Kharoshţī-Brāhmī, which can be deciphered as (IX) Pra(śāstra)-puŋya udhreka [B(B), B(B), BB(B); B(B), B(B); B, K(KK), B] (=Praśāstra-puŋyaḥ udrekaḥ, meaning "abundance of the merit of the office of the ruler") (no. 17c and fig. 17 c-d and e.c. 13c).	
			Kharoshtī tha (or Brāhmī ka) and Brāhmi chhu (or Greek phi) are stamped on the edge. These are followed by a Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legend, which can be read as vidhisame medatra jañamma didha [K(B), K(B), B, K(K); K(K), K, K(K); K, K, K, K, KK; B(B), K] (=vidhisamena medaḥ atra yajñe dallaḥ) (no. 17d, fig. 17 c-d and e.c. 13b-2).	
	Chandraketugarh area; collection of G. S. De, Habra.	Terracotta; round; diameter of the impression of a round seal-3 cms; personal seal; seal, class i.	The impression of a round seal matrix on the terracotta object displays two concentric circles. A symbol or a monogram appears inside the inner circle. Between the latter and the outer circle there is a Kharoshti-Brāhmī inscription preceded by the figure of a ladle. The legend can be read from inside and from right to left as Medaka neda dana yadha Moboda [K(K), K, K, E, B, K,	C. 2nd century A.D. The letters are all well formed.
19.	Chandraketugarh; Collection of G. S De. Habra.	Terracotta; a semi-circular lump with a flat top carrying the impression of a seal with a diameter of 4.8 cms.; seal, class iii.	The terracotta object bears the impression of a seal matrix, displaying within a decorated border a symbol (consisting of three slanting lines attached to a horizontal line?) and a circular legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmī. It can be read meaningfully only as (II Ayava'a daramga [K, B, K, K; B, B(K), B] (Ayavaya-drangah, meaning "office of receipts and expenditure") (fig. 19).	C. 2nd century A.D. The letters are well formed.
20.	Chandraketugarh; IM; 90/182.	Terracotta; round; diameter-3 cms.; the reverse side has a convexed surface; religious token; seal, class iv.	On the obverse appears a carclessly stamped impression of a seal matrix, rendering the letters mostly unreadable. A yūpa-like device and an inscription by its side (like the one on no. 14) (no. 20a) are noticeable. There are also traces of a marginal legend (no. 20b) (fig. 20 a-b).	C. late 1st century A.D.

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On the reverse the taurine symbol (or the Brāhmī letter ma) is stamped at the centre.
On the margin a Kharoshtī inscription is engraved. It can be deciphered as Dhi'asi Vrahmadhvajo (=Dhiyasi Brahmadhvajah, meaning "in wisdom [he] is a Brahmadhvaja (having Brahmā as his banner)" (no. 20c; fig. 20c and e. c. 2). The person concerned was considered as wise as Brahmā, the creator, or as Brahman, the most learned of the principal priests).

21. Chandraketugarh; D, A, W.B.; CKG 183. Terracotta; nearly round; the impression on the obverse is circular with a diameter of 3 cms. and that on the reverse is oval having the maximum length as 2 cms.; religious token (?); seal, class vi. The circular impression on the obverse indicates a vessel with three stalks of grain rising from it and a nearly effaced legend (no. 21a). On the reverse appears the Brāhmi inscription Charabha'a (fig. 21). On the edge Brāhmi ka (or Kharoshṭi tha) is stamped and it is followed by an incised Kharoshṭi—Brāhmī legend readable from inside and from right to left as Dhajahi Siva vahmavida [K, K, B(B); K(K), K; K, KK, K(K) K] (=Dhajaiḥ, Sivah, Brahmavidah, meaning "by his banners Siva is [recognisable as] the knower of Brahma (or a Vedic philosopher)". It refers to a Brahmavid (no. 21c).

C. 1st century A.D.

22. Chandraketugarh; DA, W.B.; CKG 182 (T 109). Terracotta; irregular shape; carrying a circular impression of a seal-matrix with a diameter of 3.25 cms.; charm; seal, class vii. A circular impression on the terracotta object of grey colour displays a peacock parching on a gateway. They are flanked by a lotus plant on one side and by a conch (placed upside down) and three stalks of grain on the other. A legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmi appears on the margin. It can be read from outside and from left to right as (X) Modhula sikhinātripishtam juju Jidhasenaka datya dhālreva jajji juju [B(B), K(K)?, B; K(K), B(B), B(B)

C. 2nd century A.D.
For a terracotta object bearing similar devices and legend (?) see item no. T 9022 in AM. (see below no. 40 and fig. 38). See also the seal numbered 7 in the collection of Sri D. K. Maite (of the Chandraketugarh Sangrahaśālā, Devalaya, 24 Parganas North) (D. K. Maite, Chandraketugad(a), pl. v, ; no. 1).

(fig. 22 and e.c. 14).

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SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
23.	An unrecorded place in the district of 24-Parganas (South); SM; K50.	Terracotta; round; diameter—2.5 cms.; an object of some religious significance; seal, class vi.	Traces of a circular impression is noticeable on one side. An engraved Kharoshti legend on the other side may be read as Avasidasa dhama [= Avasirasah dharmah, meaning "the duty of a person with his head turned down" (i.e. man of the so-called lower class)].	C. 1st century A.D.
24.	Chandraketugarh; SM; T549.	Terracotta; potsherd measuring 13×4 cms; stamped near the rim by an oval shaped matrix; the length of the impression-3 cms.; fragment of a pot or dish bearing the potter's or owner's name.	An oval shaped impression near the rim of a fragment of a pot or dish bears the Kharoshti-Brāhmī legend Salātheotha [K, B(B), K(K), K(K), K] or the Kharoshti legend Sanas(r)ap(r)as(r)a (fig. 23) (if the inscription is read with the potsherd placed upside down). The legend probably refers to a personal name. The figure of a lotus is stamped near he legend.	C. 1st century A.D. (?)
25.	. Harinarayanpur; 24 Parganas (South); SM.	Terracotta; potsherd; stamped letters near the rim of a dish.	A stamped legend in Kharoshţī-Brāhmī near the rim of a dish can be read asmagha(?'jī (?)mā'u [K(K), B, B(B), B(B),K] (fig. 24).	C. 4th century A.D.
26	6. Chandraketugarh; Bhuvan Art Gallery and Museum.	Terracotta; round; a religious token and/or a personal seal; seal, classes i and vi.	An impression of a round seal-matrix on one side of the object carries a yūpa-like device (?) and a legend along with it (as on no. 14) and also bears traces of a marginal legend (no. 26a). On the other side a four-presymbol is stamped in the middle: a marginal inscription in Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī can be read from outside and from right to left as (I) Me'snijrada Vimma sriṭhadha [K(K), K, B, K(K), K; K(K), KK; K(KK), K, K] (=Me'enjādaḥ Vimmaḥ Sītādaḥ, meaning "Vima, the son of Me'em [and] the furrow-giver") (no. 26b) (e.c. 6).	(MB, AS, August, 1989) pp. 5 and 7).
27	7. Chandraketugarh area; collection of N. Nath, Habra.	Terracotta; a wedge shaped object with one end flat and circular (with a diameter of 2 cms.); height of the object-3 cms.; an administrative seal (?); seal, class ii.	The flat and circular end of a wedge-like object bear a hole in the middle and a marginal legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmī, which can be read from outside as (vi) Kayajrayavadī [B, B, K(K), K, K, K(KK)] (=Kāyajayaþadraḥ, meaning "the village called Kāyajaya") (figs. 25a and b).	C. 1st century A.D.
28	3. Chandraketugarh area; collection of N. Nath, Habra.	Terracotta; a hemispherical object with a height of 1 cm.; partly broken; personal seal; seal, class i.	An hemispherical object bearing one Brāhmī and several Kharoshtī letters all over its hemispherical part. These may be arranged in the following way:— L.1. [Da] ma (?) L.2. Jadapūḍhe L.3. Sadava (dha) L.4. 'Oṭhade (fig. 26). The last line is inscribed in a semi-circular line. The character prin 1.2 and the letter tha in 1.4	

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51. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
			are in Brāhmī. Other letters are in Kharoshtī. The inscription seems to refer to one Sadavadha from (a village or settlement called) *Otha (Oshtha). He was the son (putra>puta>pvdhe) of [Da] majada.	
29.	Chandraketugarh area; Balanda Museum, Haroa.	Terracotta; round; bearing a circular impression on one side and another impression on the other and is engraved with a legend on the edge; a seal of personal character and/or religious significance; seal, classes i and vi	The obverse of the terracotta object bears a circular impression displaying three stalks of paddy issuing out of a base and two auspicious symbols (svastika and conch) and also a marginal legend in Kharoshtī-Brāhmī. It can be read from outside as (VIII) Senadhimitrabūtra Pritvi [B(B), B, K(K), B(B),	C. 3rd century A.D.
			On the other side of the object there is an indistinct impression. On the edge a legend is inscribed in the Kharoshti script. It can be read as Siśashatraga¹odhesi¹e (=Sishyasatraka-auddeśikāyai [mūdrā], meaning "[the seal prepared] for the sake of the asylum of disciples". (no. 29b). Apparently Prīti was connected with this asylum.	
30.	Hadipur; collection of G. S. De, Habra.	Terracotta; a small decorated drinking vessel looking like a modern glass; height-4.7 cms.	A glazed drinking vessel of yellow colour and of excellent quality; decorated with two rows of circular lines, each row consisting of three lines; a Kharoshti legend, engraved on the vessel, which can be read as <i>Dabaja</i> (?) (fig. 28). It may be the name of the owner of the glass.	C. 1st or early 2nd centu
31,	Hadipur; collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a small vessel with broad circular mouth; height-4-5 cms.; diameter of the mouth-7 cms.	A glazed small vessel with broad circular mouth; well-preserved; bears the incised Kharoshii inscription Tavaya (to be read with the vessel placed upside down) (fig. 29). It may refer to the owner of the vessel.	C. 2nd century A.D.
32.	Hadipur; IM; 89/44.	Terracotta; a small drinking vessel looking like a pitcher; height-5.5 cms.; diameter of the round mouth- 14 cms.	A pitcher-like pot of yellowish glazed colour, with a round bottom and a bulging middle section, has a Kharoshti inscription near the neck, which can be read from above the pot or putting it upside down. The inscription reads as Peyata (fig. 30). If it is emended as Peyada, it may indicate the vessel as the giver of something drinkable.	C. 1st century A.D.
33.	Hadipur; IM; 89/46.	Terracotta; a potsherd of irregular	A grey coloured potshered bearing a stamped inscription. From one side it can be read as <i>Utalaš</i> [?] [B, B, B, K, K, L,	C. 1st century A.D.

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		inscription within an ellipse (2.5 cms. long and 1 cm. broad); fragment of a dish.	deciphered as Vajašaja [K, K, K, K] (fig. 31). In either case the legend seems to contain the name of the potter or the owner of the pottery concerned or owner of the dish in question. If we consider the word Utalat' as referring to a proper name and the term Vajasaja as his epithet, then the intended inscription can be Sanskritised as Vajrasajjah Utala-shāhi (Utala, the king, who has a mighty armour).	
34.	Hadipur; IM; 89/44.	Terracotta; potshered (10.3 cms. long) bearing an inscription inside a rectangle (1.5×1.7 cms.) caused by stamping; fragment of a round dish with rim.	A potsherd of yellowish colour stamped with an inscription near the rim; the inscription and the representation of a cluster of small grains appear inside a rectangle caused by stamping the matrix concerned; the inscription in Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī can be read from outside as "Dāliphetaja [B(B), B(B), B(B), K, K] (=Dāliphetajam, meaning "[container of] the product (made) from the refuse of millet" (a kind of small grain) (fig. 32). Apparently the dish concerned was meant to contain the product.	C. late 1st century A.D.
35.	Hadipur; IM; 89/47.	Terracotta; potsherd (8.5 cms. long) bearing an inscription inside a circle (with a diameter of 2 cms.) caused by stamping; fragment of a rouletted dish with rim (?).	A potsherd of whitish colour stamped with an inscription and a lotus device inside a circle (caused by stamping the matrix concerned); the inscription, which appears around the lotus, may be read from inside as (XI) sase jukha Jasa(sa) [B, K(K); B(B), K; B, B, (B)] (=sasye yakshasya Tasasya, meaning "of Yaśa, the Taksha in grain)". (fig. 33). Apparently the dish concerned was used for the worship of a semi-divine spirit (Yaksha) presiding over grain; or it belonged to one Yaśa, who was a Yaksha (i.e. rich like an attendant of the God of wealth Kubera) in (respect of possession of) grain.	C. 1st century A.D.
36.	Chandraketugarh area; AM; T5140.	Terracotta; nearly round; round impression of a seal matrix on one side covering nearly the whole of the object's surface, and three small stamps on the other side; seal of a business community; seal, class v.	The obverse of the object bears a round impression of a matrix displaying a boar (or a bull?) in the middle; above it there is a blurred leg end which can be recognised (if looked at from outside) to be the same as that on no. 14 abov (Sa 90 kāhaṇa) (no. 36a); below the animal there is a marginal legend which can be read from outside as (VIII) Nitro jūā(detā) sana (ba) ha(na) naū [B(B), B(B, B); BB(B), B(B), K, B, B, B, B, B, B, B] (=Nītyajūātaitā [should be-shā] [mudrā) sanaūāh.nanām, meaning "This is the eternally known [seal] of the persons having the gain	

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			[of wealth] as (their) conveyance" (no. 36b) (fig. 34). This legend apparently refers to a prosperous community and the other legend may suggest that it was connected with trade in grain. A taurine symbol is impressed on the reverse of the object. The word Vamaka (no. 36c), probably a personal name, is stamped twice. He might have been connected with the business community.	
	Chandraketugarh; AM: T9544.	Terracotta; a nearly round object carrying round impressions on both sides (with diameters 3 and 2.4 cms) and a legend on the edge; scal, class i, ii, iv, v, or vi.	The round impression on the obverse displays a chiton clad lady (a deity) with an elaborate headdress as standing to front with the left hand akimbo and the half-raised right hand holding a pair of fishes; on her left there are traces of a legend which is probably the same as on no. 14 (sa 90 kāhana); on the margin there are traces of a legend including Brāhmī and Kharoshṭī characters (fig. 35a-b).	C. 2nd century A.D. A terracotta plaque (AM, T 84-27/9930) depicts apparently the same lady holding fishes and wearing a transparent drapery giving enough indication of her private parts. She is probably a fertility goddess (see fig.
			Three stalks of grain rising from a base and traces of a legend can be seen in the impression on the reverse (fig. 35c). The Greek letter phi is stamped on the edge and this is followed by a Kharoshti inscription readable as Daja'a (or ha) jada(no. 37d; fig. 35d).	
	Chandraketugarh; AM; 'T5848.	Clay lump; bearing the stamps of two matrics, one rectangular (1.8×2 cms.) and another round (with 1.5 cms. as diameter); proof-impressions (?).	The rectangular impression shows a female clad in chiton, standing to front by the side of a pot with foliage issuing out of it; a fragmentary marginal inscription in Kharoshti can be read from outside assta. dha. dha. [, KK,, K,, K,,]. The circular impression displays stalks of grain (?) (fig. 36).	C. 1st century A.D. The lady may be identified as a goddess of abundance or fertility.
39.	Chandraketugarh; AM; T8521.	Terracotta object; hemispherical in shape with a flat top; the diameter of the round top is 3.5 cms. and that of a small circular impression on the hemispherical or convexed reverse side is 2 cms.; an object of fine arts; seal, class viii.	The round impression on the object displays within a circular border of dots a female figure with an elaborate headdress standing to front with her right hand akimbo and the left hand stretched out to her left pointing to a staff rising from (or from behind) a water reservoir (with two lotuses) and fitted to a pole, which is topped by a canopy over her head; a marginal legend in Kharoshti-Brāhmi commences at VIII o'clock and after the figure of a conch and a taurine symbol; it can be read from outside as Tasaṇadhirnapr(ā)n(ā) chudagasi jahi Jīrāmiri [B, K, B, K(K), B(B), B(B), B(B); B(B),	C. 3rd century A.D. The well prepared hemispherical terracotta object, displaying a Yakshi on one side and Sivalinga on the other was probably meant to sold as an object of religious art (a branch fine arts).

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SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
			Yakshi Jirāmbi, meaning, "Yakshi Jirāmbi, whose breath of life is being sundered by thirst, is in (i.e. by the side of) a well [to quench her thirst with water from the well] (no. 39a and fig. 37a). Was this Yakshi considered as the mother (i.e. supposedly the creating or protecting spirit) of jira or cumin-seed?	
			The inscription seems to describe the picture in the scal impression. It probably refers to a scene of a story and may be considered as a piece of narrative art.	
			On the reverse of the object appears a small circular impression (with a diameter of 2 cms.) bearing a Sivalinga (?), a snake (?) on its right and a lying figure (of an animal, or of a devotee, or of Siva himself?) above it and also a blurred legend. Another legend (in Kharoshti) is found engraved outside the seal impression. It can be read as ishara, i.e. Iśvara, meaning Siva (fig. 37b).	
40.	Chandraketugarh; AM; 9022.	Terracotta; hemispherical object with a flat round top; impression of a round seal on the top; charm; seal, class vii (see no. 22).	The circular impression displays a peacock to left perched on a gateway (as on no. 22), which is flanked by a lotus plant on one side and an amphora-like jar (?) on the other; a marginal legend in Kharoshţī-Brāhmī can be read from outside as (X) Jidhra jajyi juju (no. 40 and fig. 38). (See also no. 22).	C. 1st or 2nd century A.D. The execution of the figure of peacock on this seal is cruder than that appearing on no. 22.
41.	Hadipur; IM; 90/150.	Terracotta; a imitation of an amphora (without handle) with its neck broken; height-18 cms.	An amphora like jar of sand colour bearing Kharoshţi and Kharoshţi-Brāhmī inscriptions incised near the neck, which can be read as (a) Jarama [in K]; (b) samtvasya (?) [in K]; (c) Napuvra [in KB-B, B(B), K(K)] [to be read from difierent angles] and (d) Solasha (or śa) [in KB-K(K), B, K (or B)] (fig. 39). Do these names refe to the relevant potters or owners or to persons of both the classes? Does the word solasha (< shodasa) here mean "the sixteenth" [pot]?	r
42.	Hadipur; IM; 90/159.	Terracotta; a small jar with a broad mouth; height of the jar is 1.3 cms. and the diameter of the mouth is 6.8 cms.	A small jar engraved with a Kharoshti inscription (to be read with the vessel placed upside down). It reads Laya (or la) sasa (fig. 40). Does it refer to the potter or the owner?	C. 1st century A.D.
43.	Hadipur; IM; 90/157.	Terracotta; a small jar with a broad mouth; height of the jar-14-5 cms.; diameter of the mouth- 6-2 cms.	A small jar of sand colour bearing a Kharoshti inscription incised near the neck, which can be read as <i>Ehajareja</i> (fig. 41). It may refer to the potter or the owner.	C. 1st century A.D.

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SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palaeographic features), Additional Remarks and References
44.	Hadipur; IM; 90/165.	Terracotta; a small vessel with a height of 7 cms. and having a mouth with a diameter of 5 cms.	A vessel of sand colour inscribed with a Kharoshtī inscription readable as Jajave (or 50) ta (fig. 42).	C. 1st century A.D.
45.	Hadipur; IM; 90/171.	Terracotta; a bowl with a height of 5 cms. and having a mouth with a diameter of 9 8 cms.	A coarse-looking bowl of black colour incised with a Kharoshti inscription readable (with the vessel placed upside down) as Lavayo (fig. 43).	C. 1st century A.D.
46.	Hadipur; IM; 90/160.	Terracotta; amphora-like vessel (without any handle) with a height of 15 cms.; neck broken.	An amphora-like vessel inscribed with a Kharoshţi legend and a Kharoshţi-Brāhmī legend, the latter placed below the former. The Kharoshţi inscription may be read as Vaja. The Kharoshţi-Brāhmī legend may be read as Vala [K, B] (fig. 44).	C. 3rd century A.D.
47.	Hadipur; IM: 90/174.	Terracotta; a vessel with a long neck (partly broken) and a height of 14 cms.	A vessel decorated with concentric circular lines and inscribed with the Kharoshti inscriptions Vavava and Hajaḍamo (fig. 45).	C. 1st century A.D.
48.	Hadipur; IM; 90/169.	Terracotta; a vessel with a long neck and a height of 6.4 cms.	A small vessel decorated with concentric circular lines and a Kharoshţi-Brāhmī legend which can be read (from right to left) as Dagrada (?) pa (?) śasa (?) [K, B(B K, K?] (fig. 46). It perhaps refers to the owner of the vessel.	C. 5th century A.D.
49.	Hadipur; IM; 90/172.	Terracotta; a cooking pot (partly broken) with a height of 10·3 cms.; the diameter of the mouth is 11 cms.	A partly broken cooking pot of black colour inscribed with the Kharoshti legends—(a) Jajata (or ra); (b) Data (or ra) sa; and (c) Napata (or ra or ja) (fig. 47).	C. 1st century A.D.
50.	Hadipur; IM; 90/151.	Terracotta; a perfect amphora-like vessel with a height of 18.3 cms. and a rimmed mouth with a diameter of 6.5 cms.	An amphora-like vessel of sand colour stamped with a Kharoshti inscription which can be read as Dajadamḍadapa (fig. 48b).	C. 1st century A.D. The inscriptions on the objects numbered 44 to seem to refer to personal names.
51.	Berachampa (24 Parganas, North); Collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a slightly damaged round seal with a partly broken hemespherical back; diameter of the circular impression—3.8 cms.; charm, seal, class-VIII.	Within a border of dots appears a boat, fitted with a mast carrying a banner; above it a round object (representing the sun in the sky?) and below it a legend are noticeable. The inscription, in Kharoshţi-Brāhmī, can be read from inside and from left to right as (IX) Bhajotha dijre (or jri) ssudhradho [B, B(B), B; B(B), B(B, K or B), KK(K), K(K), K(K)] (=Bhajatha dvijeshu udadhau), meaning "you take resort unto the Brahmins (while) at sea" (fig. 63).	2nd century A.D.
52.	Hadipur (24 Parganas, North); collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a well-preserved impression on the a round top of an object with a hemispherical back; diameter of the circular top-2-7 cms; ht1-5 cm.; religious token; seal; class IV.	Circular objects to the second it sin	C. 2nd century A.D.

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			is the virtue of the self-sacrificing one, (fig. 64). The inscription seems to reflect a religious or philosophical tenet.	
53.	Tamluk arca (Midnapore district); TMRS; 534.	Bone; an elliptical piece of bone; measurement—2.7 cms. (in length) and 1.7 cm. (in width in the middle); religious token or a kind of community token; seal, class VI or V.	A Kharoshţi-Brāhmī inscription appears on the piece of bone. The first character on the right as well as on the left is in Kharoshţī. Hence the inscription should be read from right to left. The first character from the right, however, poses a problem. It can be read as a mishappened cha (with the stroke for medial e) or a conjunct of the letters ma and sa (with the stroke for medial e). Hence the inscription can be read as Chetagotha [K (K), K, B(B), K], meaning "a meeting place of intelligent being(s)", or "a meeting place of [the devotees of] the Chaitya (>Chettā > Cheta) [sect]." An alternative reading is Msetagotha," [KK(K), K, B(B), K], meaning "the meeting place of the great(est) [people] [mseta=mestā < mestata (Old Persian mathista, "greatest," In masitatara, "greater", Khotanese Saka mista, "greater", Khotanese Saka mista, "greater", Khotanese Saka mista, "greater", Used in a Kharoshţi inscription (The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1980, p. 25; Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1981, p. 155; H. W. Bailey, op. cit, p. 332; R. G. Kent, Old Persian,—Grammar Text, Lexicon, 2nd edition, Connecticut, 1953, p. 201) (fig. 65). The Chaitya (ka) or Chetiya as the name of a sect was applied to a few schools belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika order of the Hinayāna (K. A. N. Sastri, editor, A Comprehensive History of India, vol. II, Calcutta, 1957, p. 366).	C. 2nd century A.D.
54.	Gajitala (?) (24 Parganas, North); collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a well-preserved pitcher- like pot; ht5 cms.; diameter of the mouth— 2 cms.	A small pitcher with a long neck decorated with two concentric circles (fig. 67). On the body appears a Kharoshti-Brāhmī inscription, which can be read as Jetha matha eja d(e)yam [B(B), B: K, B; KK; K(K), K, K] (=Jyshtha-math[e] ejyam deyam), meaning "[It is] to be given as an offering [for oblation] at the chief (or best) cloister (or monastery). (fig. 67a).	C. 2nd century A.D. The final letter (ma) touches the end of the right hand stroke of the preceding character (ya). This is probably the result of engraving the inscription in a hurried manner.
55.	Gajitala (?) (24-Parganas, North); collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a slightly damaged bowl; ht.—5.5 cms.; diameter of the mouth—12.4 cms.	A bowl of black colour (fig. 68) bearing a Kharoshti inscription, which can be read as—Pakha'ma (or Pakhašama) (fig. 68b). It is probably a personal name.	C. 1st century A.D. The third character is Aramaic or Parthian 'aleph or šin.

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56.	Gajitala (24 Parganas, North); collection of G. C. De.	Terracotta; fragment of an inscribed bowl.	A Kharoshţi-Brāhmī inscription is is stamped near the rim of the bowl. It can be read as Movathada Dhajavadeša [K(K), K, B, K; K, K, K, K, K, K, K], meaning "Dhvajadeša from Movatha" (fig. 69).	C. 2nd (or 3rd) century
57.	Gajitala; collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; fragment of an inscribed clay bowl.	A Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscription is stamped near the rim of the bowl. It can be read as Mavaṭhada Dhajavašada [K, K, B, K; K, K, K, K, K, K, K], meaning "Dhvajašada from Mavaṭha" (fig. 70).	C. 3rd century A.D.
			The locality mentioned in inscription no. 56 can be identified with that mentioned in this inscription. But the features of the two forms of \check{sm} in two inscriptions indicate that the person mentioned in inscription numbered 57 probably lived later than the man referred to in inscription numbered 56. The inscriptions may refer to the owners of the bowls or potters or owners of the pottery concerned (at Mavatha).	
58.	Chandraketugarh area; collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; fragment of an impression of a seal; charm; seal, class VII.	Within a border of dots traces of a boat and a part of a Kharoshtī-Brāhmī legend are visible. The legend can be read from inside and from left to right as— .ja dij(r)assudhradho [B; B(B), B(B), KK(K), K(K), K(K)].	C. 2nd century A.D There is another similar framentary seal in the collection of G. S. De.
59.	Gajitala (?) collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a cylindrical object; length—2·1 cms.; diameter of the each of the two circular ends—1·4 cms.; a royal seal (?); seal, class II.	See the inscription numbered 51. There are inscriptions stamped on the circular ends of the cylinder (fig. 71). The Kharoshti legend in one line on one of the circular ends can be deciphered as Yadaso (fig. 71a). A circular legend at the other end can be read from outside as (VII) rajayatha (fig. 71b). The character read as tha in the second inscription can be either Brāhmi tha or the letter tēt(h) of Hebraic and Aramaic origin.	C. 2nd century A.D.
			If both the inscriptions are parts of the same legend, then it can be Sanskritised as Yat (=yasmāt) asau[mudrā] rājyataḥ, meaning "on account of this (seal) being from the royalty". In that case, the object can be taken as a royal seal.	
60.	Hadipur; collection of G. S. De.	Terracotta; a partly broken seal; charm, class VII.	A lady (wearing a chiton, a head-dre and earrings) is shown as standing to front on a mat (or a kind of pedestal) with the left hand akimbo and the right hand holding a stalk of grain; a devotee (?) stands near her right side. A Brāhmī inscription appears below and near the	

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left side of the lady. It can be read as (VII) Dhāmnaji juju (=Dhānyajī [devī] yujyatu [bhaktena], meaning 'let the paddy-winning [goddess] be connected [with the devotee].'' The readable letters are in Brāhmī. However, there are traces of Kharoshtī dhra (or Brahmī nya) and Brāhmī m in the upper left field. Do we have here a monogram consisting of Brāhmī m and below it a figure comblining parts of Kharoshtī dha and Brāhmī nya? In that case the monogram may stand for dhamnya=dhānya "(paddy)" (fig. 72).

The female figure referred to above seems to represent a deity presiding over paddy. She was propitiated for having a rich harvest.

61. Gajitala; collection of G. S. De.

Terracotta; potsherd; measurement of the extant portion-9 × 10 cms.

A potsherd of grey colour with a Kharoshţī inscription stamped on it (fig. 74a). The inscription consists of three characters. The first letter from the left seems to be a variety of Kharoshţī tha. The second letter may be read as Kharoshţī ya or Brāhmī ga (or ta?). Since the first letter from the left is a Kharoshtī character the inscription can not be read from the left to right as in the case of reading Brāhmī and has to be read from the right to left, as in the case of reading Kharoshti. So the first letter from the right (which is also the third character from the left) should be taken as a character which could be used for writing Kharoshţī (though it has a superficial similarity with an archaic form of Brāhmī ma). The character may be considered as tēṭ(h), which is known to have been used in inter alia the Aramaic and Parthian scripts and also in the Kharoshti inscriptions found in the Chunar area of U.P. (B. N. Mukherjee, Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Asoka, chart; D. Diringer, The Alphabet, 2nd edition, reprint, London, 1953, p. 278; Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society, September, 1990, p. 8). The inscription can now be deciphered as Tayatha (all characters in Kharoshți) or Taga (or ta?) țha. [K, B, K] (fig. 74b). It is probably the name of the owner or that of the potter (or rather the owner of the pottery concerned),

C. 2nd or 3rd century

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(Provenance unknown (but probably in the Chandraketugarh area); SM; 04·294.	Terracotta; the object, which is slightly hemispherical at the back has a flat surface on the other side, which carries a nearly oval (2.5×2 cms.) impression of a seal matrix; seal, class ii.	The seal impression on the terracotta object displays a boat and a shield placed slightly above it; two swords, placed slantingly behind the shield with their hilts on the ground, are seen as crossing each other; a bird is seen in the upper field; one can notice a Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscription below the devices. It can be deciphered as Deva'ura (with a mishappened va) or Dedhţha'ura or Dedhţa'ura (accepting the second character as consting of Brāhmī dha and the letter \(\varphi_{\ell}(\ell_{\ell})\) (fig. 75).	C. late 4th century A.D. The form of the letter va, if it really occurs here, is somewhat archaic, but the form of the thlrd letter (u?) is quite developed, and is only sightly earlier than the appearance of the same letter in the Dhanaidaha inscription of A.D. 432-33. The character can not be read as ra in view of the form of the last character which certainly represents 7a.
			The first or the second reading accepts all letters as belonging to the Brāhmī script. The third reading considers the second character as consisting of $E_L(h)$ as well as Brāhmī dha. The presence of such a conjunct letter may characterise the legend as a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription.	
			The devices in the impression might have formed the insignia of the person or place concerned.	
63.	Somewhere in the district of 24-Parganas (South); SM; K 141.	Terracotta; the object bears an oval (1·1×2·5 cms) impression of a seal; seal, class i (?).	The seal impression displays a boat (or ship?) with two long masts, from the one of which a ladder hangs down. A line of wriiting is noticeable in the field to the left of the device. Most of the letters are written slantingly. The inscription in Kharoshtī-Brāhmī, which is to be read from outside and from the right to left, can be deciphered as Dhejul(o)dakasa [K(K), B(B), B(B), B, K, B] or Dhaijul(o)dakasa [K(K, K), B(B), B, K, B] (= Dhe (or Dhai) jula-udakyasya, meaning "[The seal of Dhe (or Dhai)jula, (who is) being in water" (fig. 76).	C. 2nd century A.D. If the curved stroke close to the base of dhe (dha+e) is taken as a sign for long vowel, then the character can be read as dhai (see Appendix II).
			The cumulative evidence of the inscription and the device may indicate that the person concerned played the part of a seafarer or a manufacturer or a owner or a middleman in the shipping business.	
64	. Chandraketugarh area; IM; 90/398.	Bone,; a round seal or seal-matrix with handle; the object is partly broken; height of the object-2 cms.; diameter of the round	On the margin of the round top of the object (fig. 77a) and around an uncertain device a fragmentary inscription appears deeply incised.	C. 2nd century A.D.
		top-2 cms.	The existing letters can be recognised from inside and from the left to right as ta [B] or $t[\bar{t}t(h)]$ [K], $bhra$ [B(B)], ju [B(B)], ja (B) and so[K(K)]. However, the deep	
				C

SI. No.	Provenance, Present Deposition and Accession No.	Material, Shape, Size, Nature and Class	Description and Comments	Date (on the basis of Palacographic features), Additional Remarks and References
1	2	3	4	5

incision of the characters of the inscription may indicate that it was meant to serve as a matrix. In fact, in the characters we may recognise from the left to right the reverse forms of those of t [$t\bar{e}t$ (h)] or tha [B], pra or bhra [K(K)], dho [K(K)], dha [K] and khe [K(K)].

In any case the inscription on the seal or seal-matrix seems to refer to a person called. Bh(r)ajujasa (or...Bhrajuja) [or...Bh(r) a (or Ph(r)a] dhodhakhe] (or...Bh(r)a [or P(r)a] dhodhakha) (fig. 77).

65. Gajitala; IM.; 90/394.

Clay; a partly broken clay object carrying the round impression of a seal-matrix; diameter of the partly broken round impression-3 cms.; charm; seal, class vii. The seal impression displays a peacock perched on a gateway, which is flanked by certain devices as on object no. 22. A fragmentary marginal inscription can be read (ya) sa jajyi juju..... [B, K; B, B(BB); B(B), B(B)] (= Yaśali yajvinam yojayatu..... meaning "may fame be connected with the worshipper...").

C. 4th century A.D. See also the objects numbered 22 (fig. 22) and 40 (fig. 38).

APPENDIX II

PALAEOGRAPHIC CHARTS

THE forms of Kharoshtī letters noticeable in the Kharoshtī and Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions discovered so far in West Bengal can be divided into three groups, viz. (i) normal or formal (or nearly normal or formal) types, (ii) slanting (often also angular) types and (iii) cursive or cursive as well as slanting types. The majority of the known inscriptions consists of normal or formal types of letters as noticeable in the Kharoshtī records in the north-western section of the subcontinent, the homeland of Kharoshtī. There are some inscriptions written exclusively with slanting or cursive letters. However, several legends indude letters belonging to two (or three) different types (or styles of writing). These belong to a script which may be conveniently called Eastern Kharoshtī.

Unlike the Kharoshtī alphabet of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent, Eastern kharoshtī includes the letter śin, current in the contemporary Parthian or Arsacid and Pahlavi scripts. The letter 'aleph, used also in those scripts, is noticed only once (inscription numbered 13) or twice (inscriptions numburd 13 and 55) in the records noticed so far. The number of occurrence of this letter in the known inscriptions in Eastern Kharostī (or Kharoshtī-Brāhmī) is yet too insignificant to allow it to be reckoned as a regular character of the script concerned. It could have been occasionally employed by people hailing from the Indo-Iranian borderlands. The regular presence of the letter tēt(h) (of Hebraic or Aramaic origin), noticeable in the Kharoshtī inscriptions found recently in the Chunar area (U.P.), is not certain in the records under review. However, for three likely cases of its occurrence we may refer to the inscriptions numbered 59, 61 and 64.

A curved stroke near the base of the right side of a letter (from the viewers' point of view) stands for the sign of long vowel in Central Asian Kharoshtī and occasionally in Indian Kharoshtī. (D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 2nd edition, p. 303; *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. XIV, p. 35). The same feature may have occurred in the inscription numbered 63.

The palaeographic chart (no. I) published here draws the forms of letters under two columns. The first includes the letters having normal or nearly normal forms. The second column includes the forms of the letters written slantingly (sometimes with pronounced angularity) or cursively or in cursive as well as slanting style.

The examples for the first column have been taken from the inscriptions of c. 1st century A.D. [numbered by us as 4, 8, 20, 21, 24, 28, 32, 33, 38, 42, 43, 45, 49 and 50 in our list and as 2 and 9 in the collection of G.S. De and also on the item no. 90/164 in the Indian Museum], of c. 2nd century A.D. [numbered as 1, 5, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 26 and 37 in our list], of c. 3rd century A.D. [numbered as 6, 9, 10, 11, 29, 36 and 39 in our list], of c. 4th century A.D. [numbered as 7, 16, 25 and 41 (partly) in our list] and of c. 5th century A.D. [numbered as 17 (partly) and 48 in our list]. The examples for the second column has been taken from the inscriptions of c. 1st century A.D. [numbered as 3, 27, 34, 44 and 47 in our list], of c. 2nd century A.D. [numbered as 2, 15 and 18 in our list], of c. 3rd century A.D. [numbered 29 (rev.), 39 (rev.), 41 (partly) and 46 in

our list], of c. 4th century A.D. [numbered as 7 and 25 in our list] and of c. 5th century A.D. [numbered as 48 (partly) in our list].

The dates of the many of these inscriptions have been determined on the basis of the datable forms of the Brāhmī letters occurring in the Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions or in the Brāhmī legends appearing along with Kharoshtī legends on several objects. This observation is particularly true about the letters of the inscriptions assigned to the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries A.D., which period has not yielded reliable features of developments in the Indian Kharoshtī script. Hence the Kharoshtī letters in our chart are arranged according to the styles adopted in writing them and not according to their probable dates. However, the known features of developments in the Kharoshtī script have been considered in dating the inscriptions in our list. There is also no doubt that all relevant Kharoshtī letters occurring in the inscriptions noticed so far are to be dated to the period ranging from about the second half of the 1st century A.D. to about the early 5th century A.D. (Chapter I, section C).

The forms of the Brāhmī letters occuring in the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions and in legends appearing on several objects along with Kharoshṭī inscriptions are furnished in our second chart (no. II). Here their periods are indicated. The five columns (relating to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries) include the forms of letters appearing in following inscriptions.

Column I—The inscriptions numbered as 21, 27, 34, 35 and 38 in our list.

Column II—The inscriptions numbered as 5, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22 and 26 in

our list.
Column III—The inscriptions numbered as 6, 9, 10, 11, 29, 36, 39 and 46 in our list.

Column IV—The inscriptions numbered as 7, 16 and 41 in our list.

Column V—The inscriptions numbered as 17 and 48 in our list.

APPENDIX III

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THE EARLIEST LIMITS OF VANGA

The name Vanga indicating a people seems to have occurred for the first time perhaps in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹ The earliest known reference to the name as denoting a territorial unit is found in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.² But none of these sources alludes to the exact location of the habitat of the people concerned.

The Mahāniddesa, which was composed by c. 2nd century A.D. if not in a much earlier period,³ refers to maritime routes touching Vanga and several other regions.⁴ The Milindapañha, datable to the 1st or 2nd century A.D.⁵, records sea-voyages of a successful sailor to inter-alia Vanga.⁶ These two pieces of evidence imply the inclusion of a coastal area with at least one port approachable from the sea in the territory of Vanga.

The Jaina Upānga Pannavaṇā (Prajñāpanā), the contents of which may be at least substantially assignable to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. (or 1st century B.C.-A.D.)⁷, includes Tāmralipti in Vanga.⁸ Hence the famous ancient port of Tāmralipti in the Tamluk area (Midnapore idistrict⁹) may have been the port alluded to in the Mahāniddesa and Milindapañha. If the tradition about the sending of the Bodhi tree to Simhala from Tāmalittī during the region of Aśoka is to be believed¹⁰, then Tāmralipti had come into existence even by sometime of the Maurya age.

In any case the above noted data suggest that in c. 1st century A.D. Vanga included at least parts of the coastal area now in West Bengal, including the locality of Tamluk in the Midnapore district. The same country is referred to in a passage of the Wei-lüeh, compiled around the middle of the 3rd century A.D.¹¹, as Pan-yüeh¹², which name is considered to have been pronounced as B'wan-gywāt in Archaic Chinese and B'uān-jiwat in Ancient Chinese¹³ and is taken to have its basic form as Vanga.¹⁴ According to the same passage in the Wei-lüeh, Pan-yüeh (i.e. Vanga) "is also called Han-yüeh-wang".¹⁵ The expression Han-yüeh-wang means the king (i.e. kingdom) of Han-yüeh. The name Han-yüeh, pronounced in Archaic Chinese as Xan-gywāt and in Ancient Chinese as Xan-jiwāt,¹⁶ can refer, as indicated by Kurakichi Shiratori, to Gangā.¹⁷ Thus the country of Vanga was known in certain sources as that of the Gangā.¹⁸

The Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses of c. 1st century A.D.¹⁹ locates the Ganges country on the sea (i.e. the Bay of Bengal) and to the east (or rather north-east) of Desarene (including coastal Orissa).²⁰ Thus the inclusion of coastal West Bengal is certain. The text also describes the country as having the river Ganges "around (peri) (or round about or on all sides of) it."²¹ Such a description includes in the Ganges country the areas on both sides of the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) and its old branches, the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā, which had been very much active in the period concerned, and also in many centuries after it.

The Yamunā branched off the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) in the neighbourhood of Kanchrapara in the north-western corner of the district of 24-Parganas (North) or in a locality in the south-west of the Nadia district, both situated on the eastern bank of the Bhāgīrathī and nearly opposite to the area on the western side of the river including Bandel, Bansberia and Triveni (now in the Hooghly district). The Yamunā flowed

partly through the bed of the present Ichhamati and Padma and ultimately reached the Bay of Bengal through the Raymangal mouth.²² The Sarasvatī branched off the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Triveni and flowed through the land now in the Hooghly and Howrah districts to the locality of Sankrail, whence its course to the sea was the present lower channel of the Hooghly.²³ The lower course of the Bhāgīrathī itself then reached the Bay of Bengal through the Ādi-Gaṅgā channel.²⁴ The upper section of the Sarasvatī was connected by a channel with the Damodar (one of whose branches probably flowed into the Rupnarayan) or with the Rupnarayan itself, on which was the port of Tāmralipti.²⁵ Thus it was on the second channel of the Sarasvatī branch of the Ganges.²⁶

The country which had the above river system all "around" it should have included the area, now in the districts of 24 Parganas (North and South), Hooghly, Howrah, Midnapore and parts of Burdwan (and also of Birbhum, Bankura and Nadia?). This suggestion receives some support if the mart of the country mentioned in the *Periplus* as Ganges²⁷ can be located in the locality of Deganga in the district of 24 Parganas (North).

In any case, there is no doubt that the name of the Ganges country is referred to by the expression *Gangaridai* or one of its variants in certain Greek and Latin texts. The term *Gangarid(ai)* can be linguistically related to the word *Gangāhrida*, meaning "(the land) which has the Ganges at its heart" [*Gangāhrida* > *Gangārida* > *Gangaridai*, nominative plural of *Gangarida*]. The meaning fits well with the description in the *Periplus*.

Pliny observed in the 1st century A.D. that "the final" course of the Ganges was in the country of "the Gangarid people". Thus not only the mouth but also a part of the lower course of at least one branch of the Ganges was within the territory concerned. This inference is in consonance with the evidence of the *Periplus*. In the 2nd century A.D. Ptolemy remarked, on the authority of earlier and contemporary data, that "all the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridai". In this territory Ptolemy located Gange, "the royal residence." He also mentioned the names of the five mouths of the Ganges. Though none of them can be identified with certainty and though their logitudinal and latitudinal positions are known to have been wrongly given by Ptolemy, the indication that nearly 4 longitudinal degrees covered the coast from the westernmost to the easternmost mouth of the river suggests that to Ptolemy the Gangaridai country stretched a long way along the coast now in West Bengal and Bangladesh. The actual difference between the extreme mouths is at present more than 3½ degrees.

Thus by the 2nd century A.D. the above noted areas of West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh up to the mouth of the Padmā (or rather of the joint streams of the Padmā, Meghna and Brahmaputra) were in Vanga. A part of the territory to the west of the Bhāgīrathī was known as Rāḍha, to which the term Suhma was related. Originally the core areas of Vanga and Rāḍha could have been separate from each other. Rāḍha, (including Subhabhumi or Suhma) cocupied an area to west of the Bhāgīrathī and north of a part of coastal Vanga to the west of the same river. However, due to upward extension of the limits of Vanga it incorporated in the pre-Gupta times a part or the whole of Rāḍha. Later perhaps due to political reasons the limits of Rāḍha expanded up to the sea. Kālidāsa (c. 4th-5th century A.D.?), who located Vanga (or at least parts of it) in between the channels of the Ganges (Gangāsroto ntareshu), also indicated the extension of Suhma up to the sea. Perhaps the latter's southern part occupied

a strip of the coast now in the western section of West Bengal. The rest of coastal area (in West Bengal and Bangladesh) was still in Vanga.41

In the post-Gupta age the connotation of the name Vanga lost its connection with the territory now in West Bengal to the west of the Bhagirathi probably because of the popular use of such terms as Rādha and Gauda. In the Pāla-Sena age the Faridpur, Bakargani (or Barisal) and Dacca zones and sometimes the Comilla and Noakhali regions in the east and occasionally also the Jessore and Khulna area in the west were within Vanga.⁴³ The coastal territory to the south of Vanga was Vangala.⁴⁴ Though indicated in certain sources as two separate countries, Vangāla (Vanga+āla) could have been originally a part of Vanga. 45 Later from the mediaeval age the names Vangala, Bangalah and Bengala (all derived from the term Vangala, which was connected with Vanga), and in the late mediaeval and modern times the name Bengal (< Bengala) denoted largely the territory now divided between West Bengal and Bangladesh. 46 The province of Bengal in British India was also popularly called Vanga.

It appears that original Vanga (up to the Gupta age) was distinct from Vanga of the Pala-Sena times (from about the middle of the 8th to the 13th century). Still later Vanga and Vangāla and other related names acquaired wide geographical connotations.

NOTES

¹ Aitareya Brāhmana, II, 1, 2.

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² Kauţīlya, Arthaśāstra, II, 11. In this connection see also A. Bhattacharyya, Historical Geography of Ancient

and Early Mediaeval Bengal, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 56f.

3 S. Lévi, "Ptolémée, le Niddesa et Brihatkathā", Etudes Asiatiques (edited by G. Van Oest), vol. II, Paris, 1925, pp. 1-55 and 431-2; E. J. Rapson (editor), The Cambridge History of India, vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, p. 175. The Mahāniddesa belongs to the Khuddakanikāya of the Suttapitaka (M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, vol. II, translated by S. Ketkar and H. Kohn, Calcutta, 1933, p. 156).

⁴ Mahāniddesa, I, 15, 174; Bhikkhu J. Kashyap (general editor), Mahāniddesa (Khuddakanikāya, vol. IV,

pt. I), Nalanda, 1960, p. 357; Louis de la Vallee Paussin and E. J. Thomas (editors), Mahāniddesa, vol. I, pp. 154-5; vol. II, pp. 414-15; S. Lévi, loc-cit.; Sino-Indian Studies, vol. II, pt. 2, 1946, pp. 61-105.

T. W. Rhys Davids, The Questions of Milinda, The Sacred Books of the Eas', vol. XXXV, Oxford, 1925, p. X; M. Winternitz, op. cit., vol. II, p. 175. Some scholars believe that Books IV to VII of that Milindapañha were composed later as they are at sent from the Chinese translation made between A.D. 317 and 420. Even if such an argument is found acceptable, the so-called additions might well have been done in the second quarter of the 4th century A.D.

⁶ Milindapañha, VI, 21, 360.

⁷ Ajja Sāma, the author of the Prajñapanā, is "reckoned as the 23rd head of a school of Mahavīra" (M. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 433 and n. 1).

8 Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 315.

9 A. Ray and S. Mukherjee (editors), Historical Archaeology of India, A Dialogue between Historians and Archaeologists, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 245-247.

10 Mahāvamsa, XIX. 6.

11 T'oung Pao (cited below as TP), 1905, s. II, vol. VI, pp. 510-520. The Wei-Lileh is lost and is known from quotations in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the San-kuo chi, published in A.D. 429.

¹² TP, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, pp. 551-552.

13 B. Karlgren, Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese, Paris, 1923, nos. 690 and 1348. 14 East and West, 1980, p. 172.

15 See above n. 9. 16 J. C. Quo, Concise Chinese-English Dictionary, reprint, Tokyo, 1962, p. 117.

¹⁷ B. Karlgren, op. cit., nos. 389 and 1348.

- 18 Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, no. 13, 1957, p. 41. The second element of the name Nemoirs of the Research Department of the 1995 many, have sounded alike to a foreigner. So it is interesting Vanga, i.e. nga, and of the name Gangā, ngā, may have sounded alike to a foreigner. So it is interesting to note that both the second elements are transliterated by one and the same Chinese character.
- 19 B. N. Mukherjee, The Kushāṇas and the Deccan, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 123-125.
- 20 Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, secs. 62-63; G.W. B. Huntington, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, London. 1980, p. 120.
- 21 H. Frisk, Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, Göteborg, 1927, p. 20; H. G. Leddell and R. Scott. A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1961, p. 1366.
- 22 J. B. P. Ambashthya, James Rennell's Memoirs of a Map of Hindustan or the Mughal Empire and His Bengal Atlas, Patna, map of the delta of the Garges (pt. I); Igalere(a) Prithivir(a) Man(a)chitra (in Bengali) new edition, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 20-21. The Bidyadhari, which falls into the Matla Channel, seems to have been a branch of the Yamuna. There is no definite evidence to believe that it ever flowed directly from the Bhagirathi. I am obliged to Sri Nihar Ghosh for providing me with some relevant pieces of information.
- 23 J. D. Ghosh, "The Decaying Saraswati River in Bengal", Indian Journal of Landscape Systems and Ecological Studies, 1988, vol. XI, no. 2, pp. 82-88.
- 24 B. N. Mukherjee, "Gangā Yuge Yuge", Ananda Bazar(a) Patrika, 17 June, 1987, p. 9; P. Raychaudhuri. Adi Gangār(a) Tire, Calcutta, 1988, pp. 14-21.
- ²⁵ J. Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindustan, London, 1783, p. 57; A. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 19. Ananda Bazar(a) Patrika, 17 June, 1987, p. 9. See also A. Mukhopadhyay, Swadeśa O Viśva Mān(a)chitra, vol. II. Calcutta, p. 31.
- 26 According to the Matsva Purāna (CXXI, 27f), the Gangā flowed through inter alia the country of the Tāmraliptas. Fa-hsien probably reached Tāmalipti (Tāmralipti) following a course of this river from Champā (Fo-kuo chih, ch. XXXVII).
- 27 Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses, sec. 63.
- ²⁸ For references to the relevant sources and discussions on them, see B. N. Mukherjee "The Territory of the Gangaridai", Indian Journal of Landscape Systems and Ecological Studies, 1987, vol. X, no. 2, pp. 65-70.
- 29 Ibid, p. 67. See also B. N. Mukherjee, "Chinese ideas about the Geographical connotation of the Name
- Shen-tu", East and West, vol. 38, 1988, pp. 301-302.

 Pliny, Naturalis Historia, VI, 21, 65. The text has novissima gente Gangaridum Calingarum regia Pertalis vocatur It should be translated as "the final race [on the course of the Ganges] is the Gangarid people. The capital of the Calinga is called Pertalis". Some scholars wrongly connect "Gangaridum" with "Calingarum" and speak of a Gangarid-Calinga country.
- 31 Ptolemy, Geographike Huphegesis, VII, 1, 81.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., VII, 1, 18.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 The Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XX, Oxford, 1931, pl. 30.
- 36 A. Bhattacharyya, op cit., pp 45f.
- 38 In the Pāla-Sena age Rādha included at least parts of the Birbhum, Burdwan and Hooghly and perhaps Murshidabad districts (A Bhattacharyya, op cit, pp 50-51).
- 39 Raghuvamśa, IV, 36 40 Ibid., IV, 34-35.
- 41 The Mahābhārata, which is considered to have received its present form between c. 400 B C and 400 AD (M. Winternitz, op. cit., vol. I, p. 13; R. C. Mazumdar, editor, The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1951, pp. 251), apparently locates Vanga on the sea (XIV, 82, 24; but see also II, 30).

 42 A. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., pp. 47-51 and 52-55.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 59-62.
- 44 Ibid., 62-65.
- 45 Ibid., pp. 63.
- 40 H. C. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 269-270.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Pls. II-V			Palaeographic Chart No. I (Kharoshti).
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Pl. XXIV	Fig. 15	(inscriptions 15 a-d):	 (a-b) One side of an object (from Chandraketugarh) displaying a device, a fragmentary central legend (a) and traces of a fragmentary marginal inscription (b). (c) The reverse of the object bearing a device and a legend. (d) A section of a legend on the edge of the object.
Pl. XXV	Fig. 16	(inscriptions 16 a-b):	(a-b) One side of an object (found at Chandraketugarh) bearing a device, a central legend (a) and a marginal inscription (b).

	1	2	3	4
		Fig. 17	(inscriptions 17 a-d):	 (a-b) The obverse of an object unearthed at Chandra-ketugarh displaying a scene, an indistinct legend (a) a blurred marginal inscription (b). (c-d) The reverse of the object displaying a device and a legend (c) and an inscription and two stamped letters on the edge (d).
Pl.	XXVI	Fig. 18	(inscription 18):	A seal from the Chandraketugarh area bearing a device (or a monogram?) and a marginal legend.
		Fig. 19	(inscription 19):	A seal from Chandraketugarh bearing a seal and a legend.
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	Fig. 55		(a) A terracotta matrix (found in the Chandraketugarh area) engraved with the negative impression of a design (no. b). [It is now in the Balanda Museum]
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Pl. XLI	Fig. 58		A terracotta medallion (partly broken) found a Chandraketugarh. It displays an armed man riding on a mailed horse.
	Fig. 59		An engraving on a drum found in the island of Sangeang (S.E. Asia) representing two personages in the Yüeh-chih dress (see no. 60) along with a horse

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		Fig. 60		The statue of the Yüch-chih king Kanishka I, found at Mat near Mathura. [it is now in the Mathura Museum].
		Fig. 61		A seal-matrix (1·18×1·4 cms.) uncarthed at Oc-60 (now in Victnam, S.E. Asia). It bears a legend (in reverse) in the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script, which can be read as Adamiharan(a)ś'. [Monthly Bulletin]
		Fig. 62		The Asiatic Society, June, 1990, pp. 1f]. A terracotta scaling from U Thong in Central Thailand, bearing a scated figure and a legend (Dhaṭa'ava=Dhṛitayava?) in the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script. [It is now in the Lopburi Museum, Thailand.] [Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society, December, 1990, pp. 1-2].
Pl.	XLII	Fig. 63 Fig. 64 Fig. 65	(inscription 51): (inscription 52): (inscription 53):	An inscribed seal found at Berachampa. An inscribed seal unearthed at Hadipur. An inscribed piece of bone discovered in the Tamluk
		Fig. 66		A terracotta medal displaying a monogram [consisting of seven prongs on a horizontal line set on a staff, which is superimposed in its lower section by an ornamented Brāhmī ma (placed upside down)]. It was reported from the Chandraketugarh area.
Pl.	XLIII	Fig. 67 Fig. 68	(inscription no. 54): (inscription 55):	 (a) An inscribed pitcher found at Gajitala. (b) The inscription on the body of the pitcher. An inscribed bowl unearthed at Gajitala (?). (a) The inscription near the rim of the bowl.
Pl.	XLIV	Fig. 69 Fig. 70 Fig. 71	(inscription 56): (inscription no. 57): (inscription no. 59):	 An inscription near the rim of a bowl from Gajitala. An inscription near the rim of a bowl found at Gajitala. An inscribed cylinder recovered at Gajitala. (a) The inscription on one of the circular ends of the cylinder. (b) The inscription on the other circular end.
Pl.	XLV	Fig. 72 Fig. 73	(inscription no. 60):	An inscribed seal discovered at Hadipur. A nearly square clay plaque found in the Chandraketugarh area. It displays some figures inside a decorated border. A lady with a halo behind her head is shown as standing to front, on a pedestal, with the left hand akimbo and the right hand giving something to a devotee standing near her and facing her. A peacock is seen in front of the pedestal, while another peacock or a cock appears in the upper left field and above the head of the devotee. By the left side of the deity we can see a staff (or sūchī) fitted with a battle-axe and and a flowing banner. Another female figure (also of a deity?) is placed on a pedestal in the left field. Apparently both the female figures are cult-deities connected perhaps with Kārttikeya, as indicated by the presence of a peacock as well as a cock, each of which is known to have been connected with him. The principal figure may inded represent Kārttikeya's consort Devasenā or Shashṭhī (Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, 191, 46; 191, 48).

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			The plastic quality of the figures in relief and the gliding lines encompassing them may date the plaque to the middle Gupta Age (in c. 5th century A.D.).
Pl. XLVI	Fig. 74	(inscription 61):	(a) An inscribed potsherd from Gajitala.(b) The details of the inscription.
	Fig. 75 Fig. 76	(inscription 62): (inscription 63):	An inscribed seal of an unknown provenance. An inscribed seal from a locality (Harinarayanpur in the district of 24 Parganas (South).
Pl. XLVII	Fig. 77	(inscription 64):	A seal (or seal-matrix) uncarthed in the Chandrakett garh area.
	Fig. 78		An inscribed potsherd unearthed during an excavation at Manikpatna on the Chilka Lake (Puri District Orissa). The extant portion carries a fragmentation in the Kharoshti script (of c. 3rd century) which may be read as follows: L1sa(?) Savrade (va) L2. kshida.
	Fig. 79		An inscribed potsherd found during an excavation at a burial site at Sembiran in Bali (Indonesia). The extant potion of it bears a fragmentary inscription in the Kharoshti script (of c. 2nd century A.D.) whimay be read as Tośavi
	Fig. 80		A semi-precious stone found somewhere in the nort western section of the Indian subcontinent and no included in a private collection in Calcutta. It bea a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscription (Judeyadānasa).
Pl. XLVIII	Fig. 80 (a-b)	 (a) A part of a silver bowl of the Sasanian Age four long ago in the Swat area in the north-wester section of the Indian subcontinent (now Pakistan). The bowl, which is engraved with the scene of a horse-rider (a Sasanian prince pursuing lions (or rather lionesses) and deer course of a hunting expedition, bears a Kharosh Brāhmī inscription [S(r)īgānugako] of c. 5 century A.D. (b) A section of the same bowl allowing a betty view of the inscription above the horse and the field to the left as well as right of the upper section.
			A Note on the Map of Ancient Vanga (Pl. I): To map represents ancient Vanga (up to about the end the Gupta age in the 6th century A.D.). A very tentat boundary line of ancient Vanga is indicated by chain of dashes. Only a few of the relevant ancient modern topographical names are indicated in

and modern topographical names are indicated (for want of space). Modern names are placed within

brackets.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(Full references to the relevant publications have been cited in each chapter before using, whenever necessary, the abbreviations of their titles. Hence these are not repeated here. Only the abbreviations which have been unsupported above by the full relevant expressions are enlisted below):

Cf.			 Compare
cm.			 Centimetre(s)
c.c.			 eye-copy
f.			 following
fig.			 figure
f.n.			 foot note
gm.		•	 gramme(s)
in.	••		inch
ins.			 inscription
n.			note
no.			 number
p.	• •		 page (pp=pages)
pl.			plate
pt.			 part.
vol.			 volume

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[The discovery and decipherment of some Kharoshţī amd Kharoshţī-Brāhmī inscriptions unearthed in West Bengal (India) by the present author were first announced in *The Statesman* of Calcutta on July 8, 1989 (p. 12). The first ever academic lecture on the subject was delivered by him on August 14, 1989, at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Since then he has successfully discussed the relevant data before academic gatherings in several cities of the country and also with some palaeographists of international repute including Prof. A.M. Shastri (Nagpur), Prof. G. Von Mitterwallner (Munich, Germany,) Prof. G. Fussman (Paris, France) and Dr. T.P. Verma (Varanasi). The articles bearing on the Kharoshţī epigraphs discovered in West Bengal and/or on the Kharoshtī-Brāhmī inscriptions found there and also in other areas are enlisted below.]

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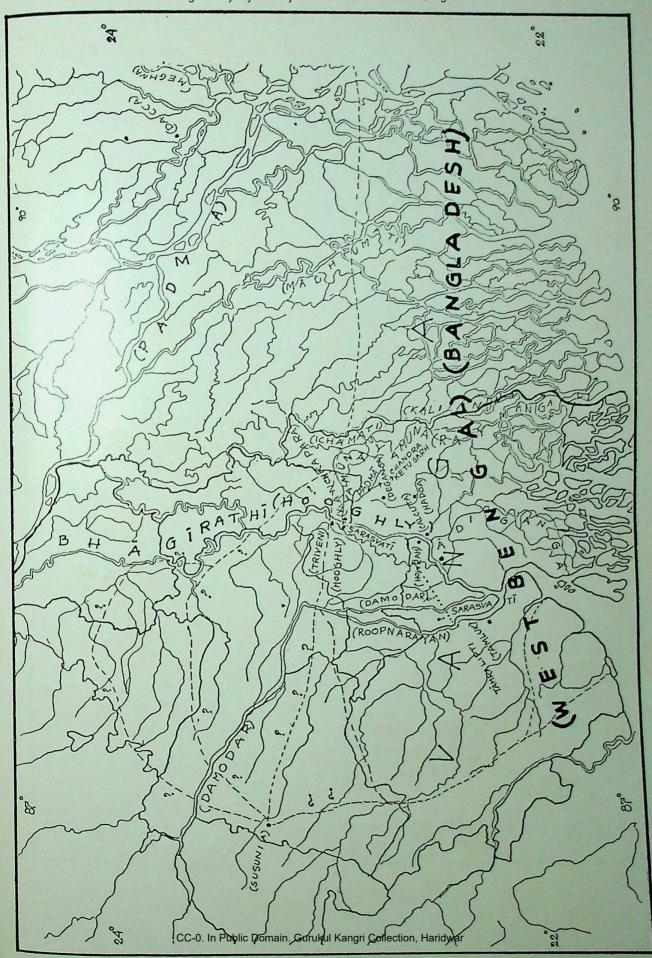
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EAST INDIAN KHAROSHTI (FORMS OF LETTERS ALREADY NITESTED BY INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN WEST BENGAL)

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PLATE IV

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phi (Ø) (loan letter)?	φφ	
medial i medial	チ た(vi), ち なられな(si), = (dhi, with medial B sign), ら(du), る(dhu)	
u medial e	G (Khe), X(je), F (de), Z (dhe), 3 (dhe, with B. medial sign)	,X(je), ¥ (ñe), N (ye). — (me or mo?)

	2 (tha), 4, (tsa) 2 (sva op tva) 12 (sma)
H	y (mo), J (do), Γ υ (mo), ¬ (bo?) γ (so), γ (ho) Σ (sua) Ζ (vra), Γ (gra) γ (κshi), χ (hra), Σ (tra), ζ (tre), ¬ (dhre), ζ (mdha), ζ (tre), ¬ (dhre), ζ (mdha), ζ, υ (mma), ν (mmo), ζ, υ (mma), γ (mmo), ζ, υ (mma), γ (soi), ξ (soa)
Н	medial O Subseript Subseript P P Compound letters

LIKELY	FORMS	S OF TWO LOWN LETTERS (?)	LONG VOWEL SIGN (?)
*aleph tēt	X (no.13), O (no.59),	1 (no. 61), Q(?) Or Q(?) (no. 64)	3, (dhai) (no.63)
The second secon			

FORMS OF BRAHMI LETTERS IN BRAHMI LEGENDS OCCURRING ALONG WITH KHAROSHTI LEGENDS AND IN KHAROSHTI- BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

A	五八	JI	JIL	TV.	Z
NAME	c.1stcept.A.D. Inscriptions numbered 21,27, 34,35,38 etc.	c.2ndcent.A.D. Inscriptions numbered 5, 13,14,15,18,19,22,26	c.3rd cent.A.D. Inscriptions numberd 6,10, 11, 29,36,39,46	c.4th.cent.A.D. Inscriptions numbered 7. 16,41	c.5th cent.A.D. Inscriptions numbered 17.48
a a i	Н				स स
u u u e a	L		×		5 5
o au ka Kha	++	at	+ + +	†	+ 17
ga gha na				W	

A	I	II	Ш		工
cha chha	d	Ф(S) Д	9		
ja	626	E E E E	EEEE	EEE	3
jha ña	h	L, A			
ta	C	cc	CC	CC	С
tha da	0	2 4	٤	Ī	. 7
dha na	し エ	6 L II	II	I,200	120 120
ta tha	K	λ ħ 0	क्र	57 7	
da	þ	7.3	2 4		2
olha na		TH	TTT	h +	44
pa		b	U		ययय(१)
pha	6				
ba bha ma	44	A 7 7 4	Ш	Su	
ya Pa	1)	(11)	T		

PLATE VIII

A	工	工厂	工厂		T
18	77	킨 김 김 시	2120	2	212
va	V		Δ		
sa sha	∇		A S		A
sa	4A	नेयभक	원 년(s)		N
ha		4 4	<u></u>		
m	۶-(dā)	· / (with K.e)	i (with na) 万(ta) 了(trā)	と (抗)	
medial ā	P ()	P(jā)	·)、 ·) 、 ·		
medial		f(pi) と(Ji)	ج (۱۲) کے (۱۲) چ (۱۲) کے (۱۲)	५ (ni)	
medial T		7 (II) (S)	ते (bbi) है (nj) है (nj)	Z) (ji s)	
medial		Η(su) ξ(ju) φ(chhu?)		E (ju)	
medial ū			片(pū)		
medial <u>e</u>		z(ne) £(je)	7 (de)	Z (de)	1 (ne)

A	工	I	Ш	III	I
medial Q		工(mo) 子(ko) 子(ko)			
sub- script Y		ج (ناباع) سی (sya)	5/(54a) 5/(54a)		
sub- seript p		31 (Ipe)	大(tro) ナ(tra) ナ(trā) ナ ナ、ナ(tri) ソ(prā)		A(dbg)
super- script			I (Liva)		
comp- -ound letters		E (shta)	く(jñā) とと(gmā) (with k.ga) 21(kla)		मु(stra)
nume- -pals		⊕ (±90)	{(dhva) ⊕(=90)	⊕(=90)	

EYE-COPIES AND TRANSLITERATIONS OF KHAROSHT INSCRIPTIONS

(Abbreviations-(A) K=kharoshtī;(B) R=To be read from right to Left; (c) O=To be read from Outside; (D) I= To be read from Inside)

EYE-COPIES AND TRANSLITERATIONS

OF

KHAROSHTĪ AND KHAROSHTĪ-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(Abbreviations-(A) B = BRĀHMĪ; (B) K = KHAROSHTĪ)

5. Ins 4. (K) - ... 3 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 321

13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 321

13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 321

dh@ dha je dvp(i) jtra va ke tre ka ma dhaaja....

=... ja'adh(a) Makatreke Vajtra dw(i) jedhadhe....

6. In526.(K-B) 7 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

dha tha sri mma vi da jra m'è me

(K) (K) (K) (K) (K) (K) (K) (B) (K) (K)

= Melémirada Vimma srithadha

7. Ins 5.(K-B)(VIII) - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

L L J J F L N

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Sa sa dhi dhi tha dhā lī

(B) (B) (Kwith B medial sigh) (K) (B) (B)

= Sasadhi dhitha dhālī

8. lns 6.(K-B)(XI)- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2 3 J 3 L 6 A J 6
10 11 12 13 14
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Ji dha tra dha na Jil sa tra sa
(B) (K) (B) (K) (B) (B) (B) (B)
10 11 12 13 14
tri dhe sa ja tra
(B) (K) (K) (K) (K) (B)
(With B.medal) samias
(B) (K) (K) (K) (B)
(With B.medal) samias
(B) (K) (K) (K) (B)

= Jidhatradhana Jusatrasa tridhese [a] trā

EYE-COPY AND TRANSLITERATION OF A KHAROSHTI-BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

(Abbreviations - (A) B=Brāhmī; (B) K= Kharoshtī; (C) L=To be read from Left; (D) R=To be read from right; (E) O=To be read from Outside; (F) I=To be read from Inside)

= Soridhajasā Dijammasa jaladhi Sakla

EYE-COPIES OF TWO INSCRIPTIONS

(Abbreviations-(a) I=To be read from inside; (b) 0=To be read from outside; (c) L=To be read from left to right; (d) R= To be read from right to left)

10. Ins 16. An Inscription in an impression on the obverse of a seal of Tājatā

marginal legend-
$$F(F)$$
: 4E EEC
 $SJEE\Gamma(E)$

11. Ins H. An Inscription in an impression on the obverse of a seal displaying a ship of the class of Trapyaga

(marginal legend) - (0)

EYE-COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SEAL OF DA'EVA NADAMI'A

(Abbreviations = (a) I = To be read from inside; (b) O = To be read from outside; (c) L = To be read from left to right; (d) R = To be read from right to left)

12. Ins14 A.Inscriptions in the impression on the obverse

2. marginal legend (I) (L)

B. Inscriptions in the impression on the reverse

c Inscriptions on the edge

- 1. stamped 6
- 2.incised (-R)

(>)2×12721 >2 78 PF

(N.B. Here the first letter, sa, is inadvertently engraved in neverse)

EYE-COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SEAL OF LADHAPE'A

(Abbreviations-(a) I = To be read from inside; (b) O = To be read from outside; (c) L = To be read from left to right; (d) R = To be read from right to left)

- 13. Ins 17 A. Inscriptions in the impression on the Obverse
 - 1. (To the left of the female deity) (I) (L)

Line 1 24785

Line 2 D b UH

- 2. marginal legend (0) (4)-(1X) 45 61 147 56 450
 - B Inscriptions on the edge
 - 1. stamped +
 - 2. Incised (R)

72 ERX 410 0627

C Inscription on the reverse

marginal legend (0) (L) (IX)

y(4岁)4上53十

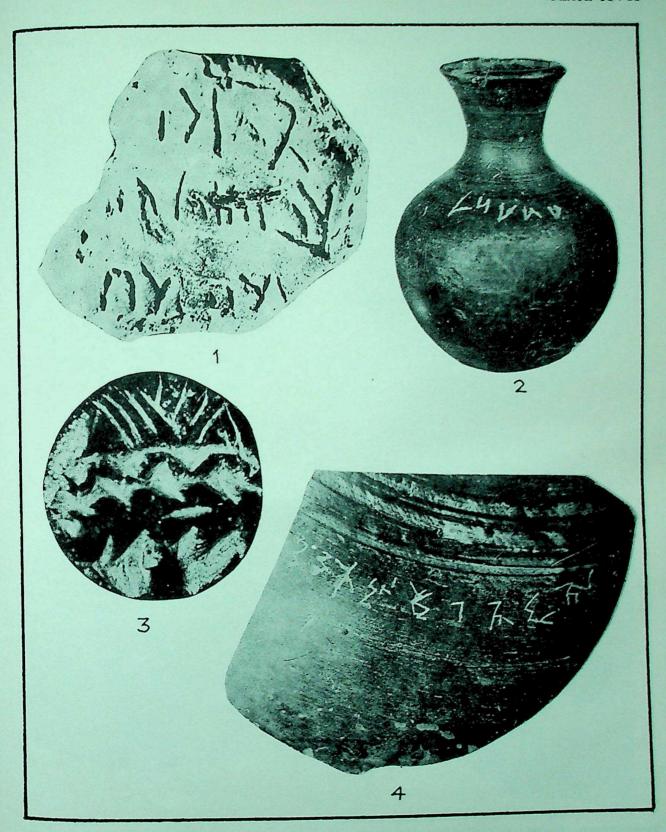
PLATE XVI

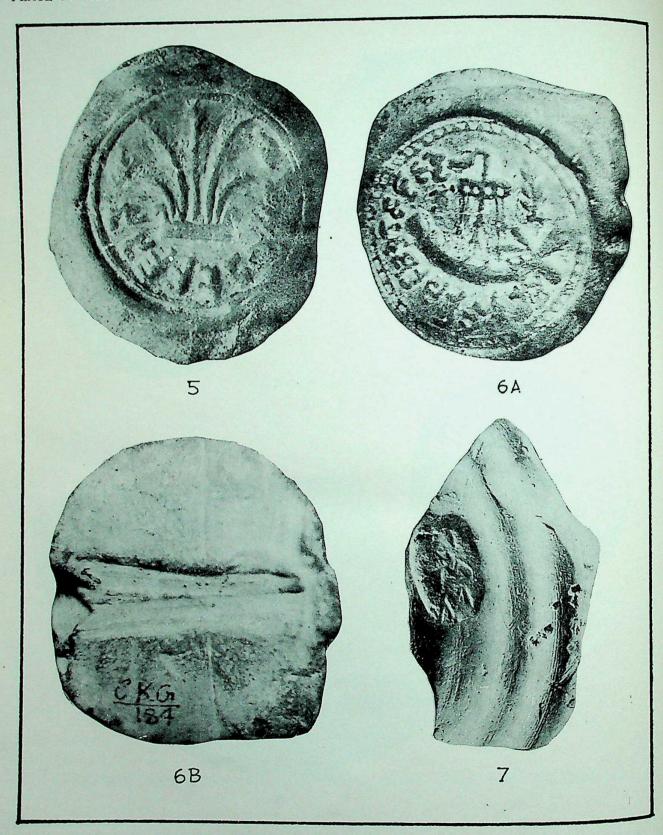
EYE-COPY AND TRANSLITERATION OF A KHAROSHTI-BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

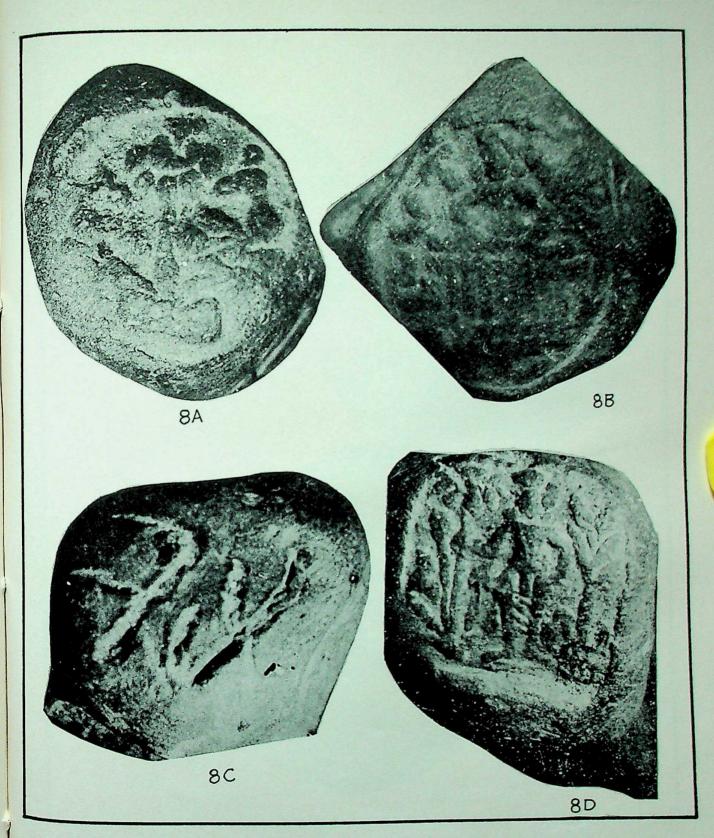
(Abbreviations - (A) B=Brāhmi; (B) K= Kharoshti; (C) L=To be read from Left; (O) R=To be read from right; (E) O=To be read from Outside (F) I=To be read from Inside)

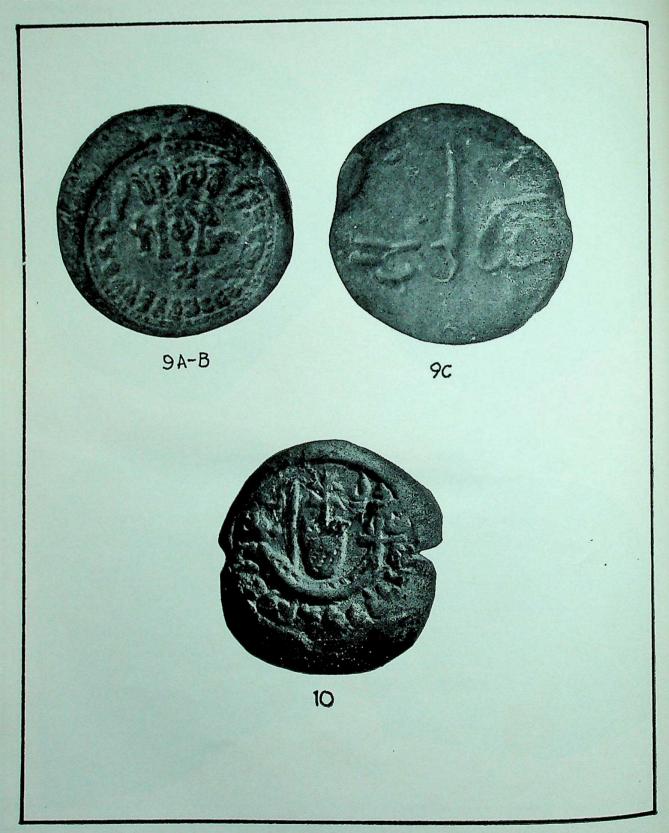
14.
$$Ins22$$
. $(K-B)(L)(O)(X)$ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 $Ins22$. $Ins2$

= Modhula sikhinātripishtamjuju jidhasenaka datya dhālrena jajvi juju









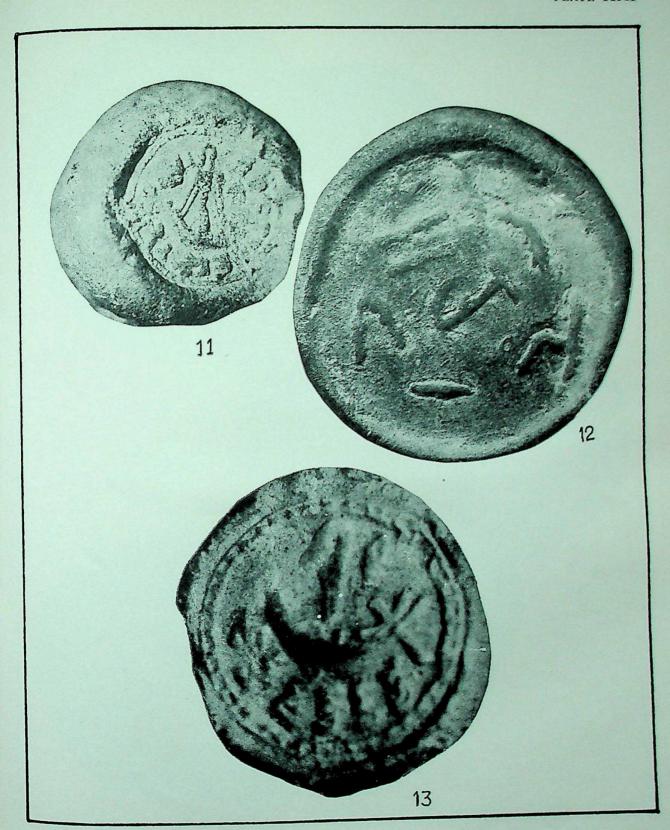


PLATE XXII



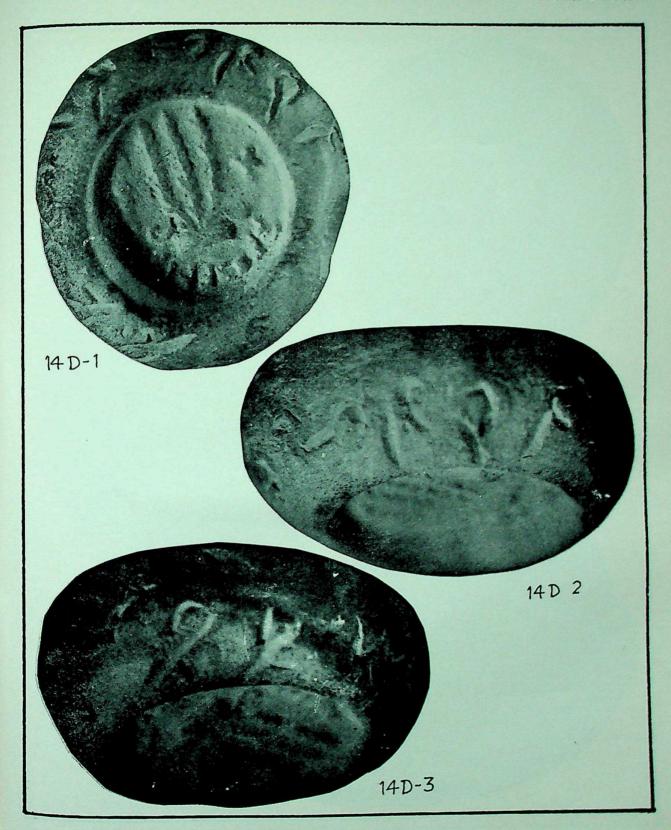
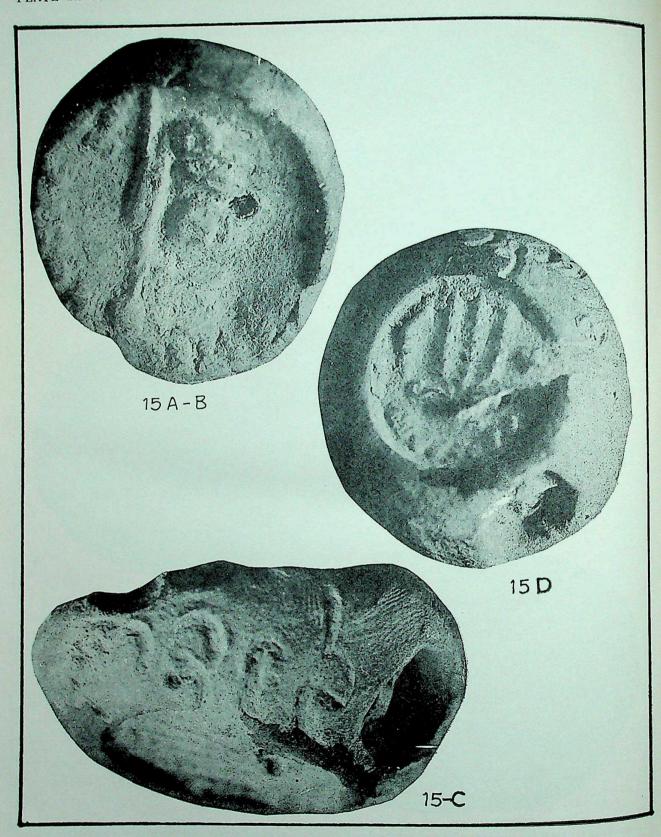


PLATE XXIV



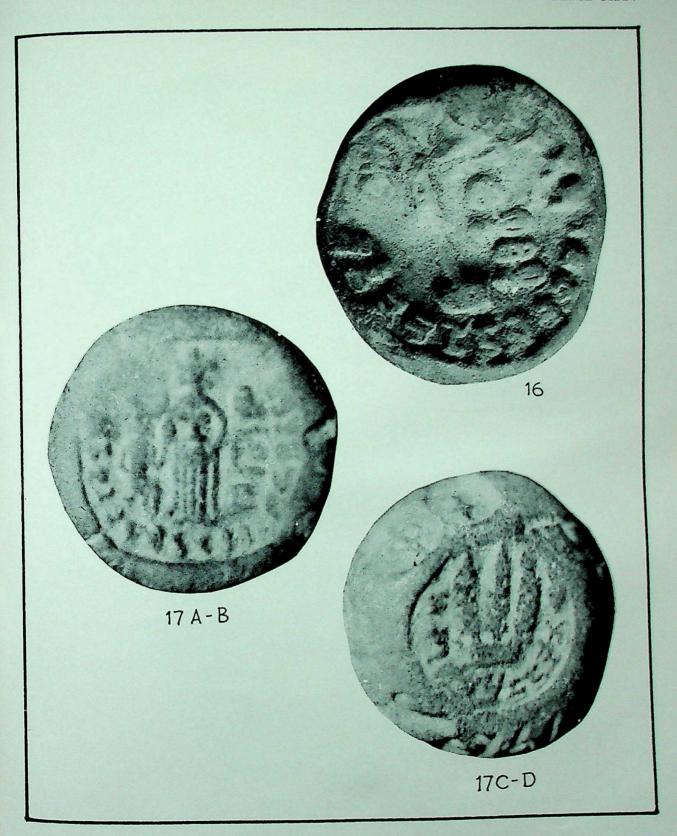
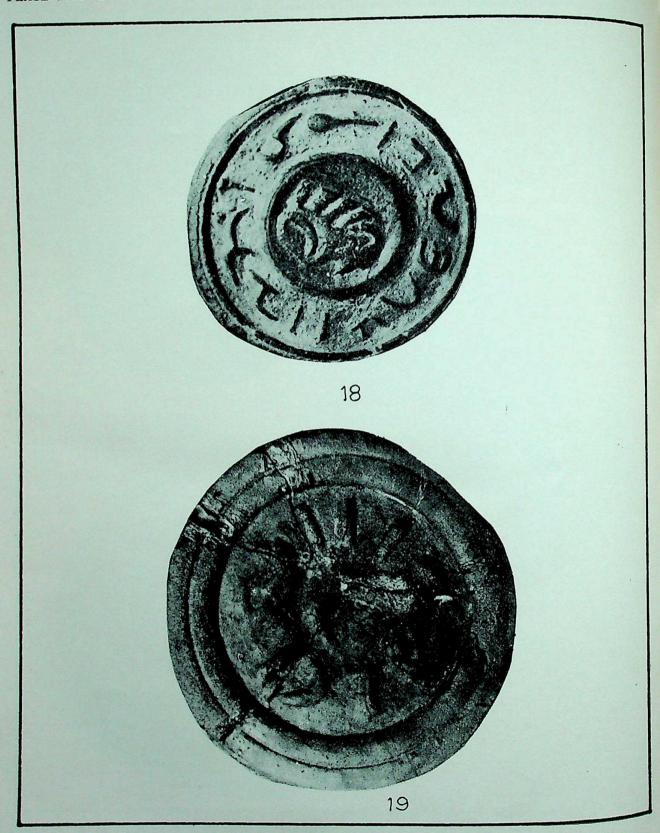


PLATE XXVI



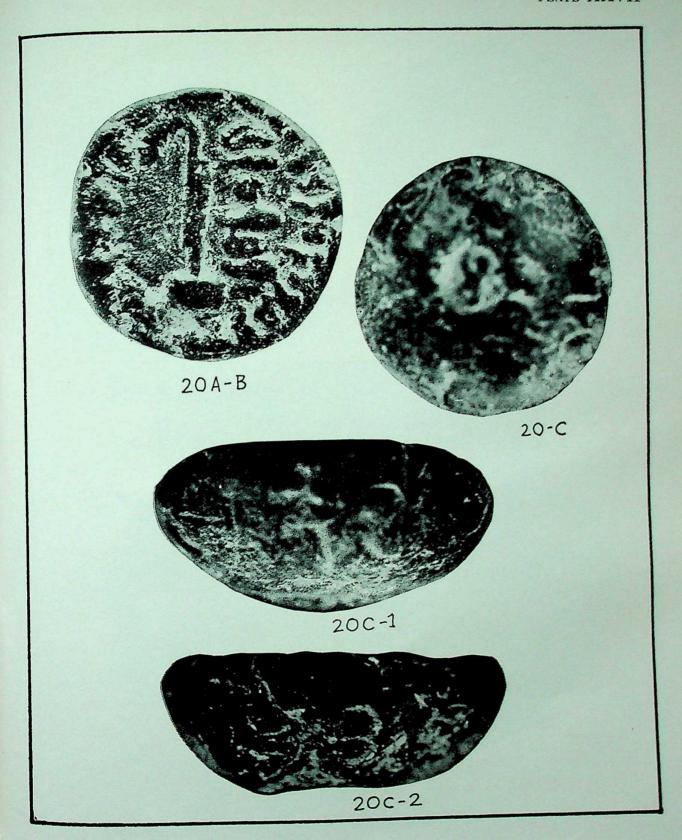
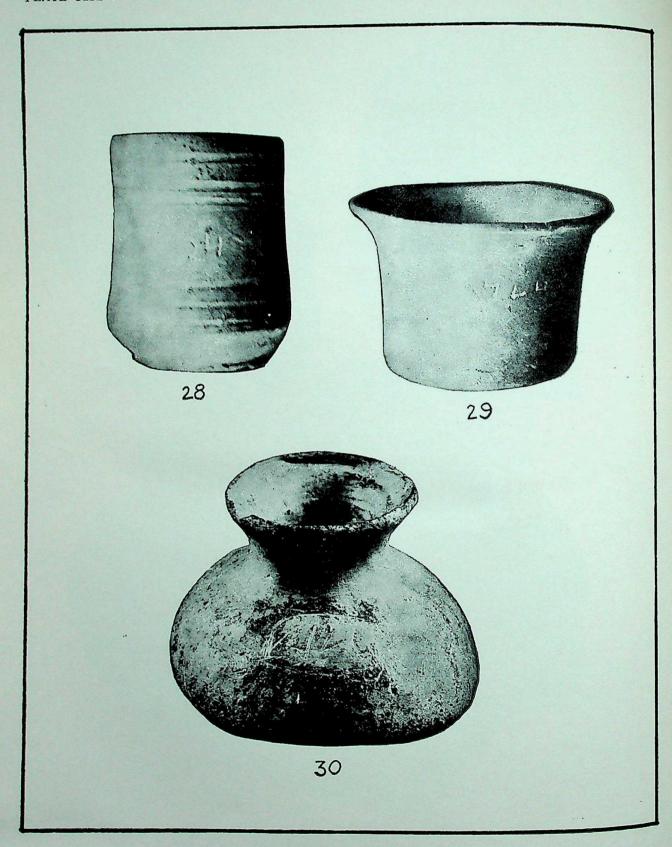


PLATE XXVIII







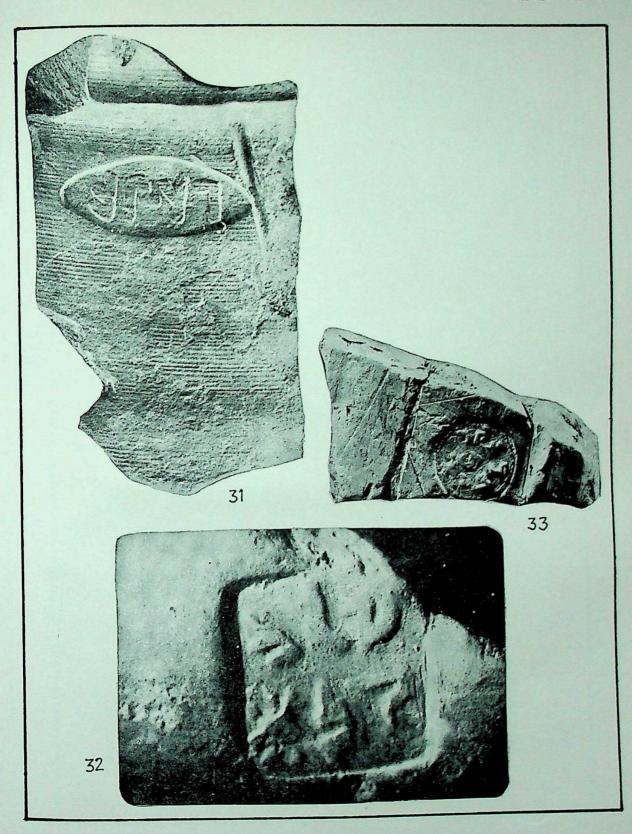
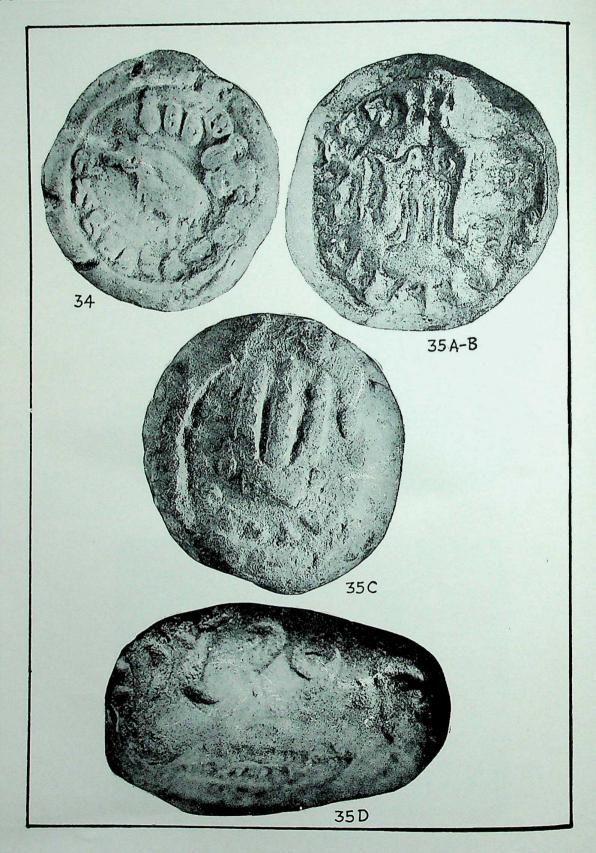


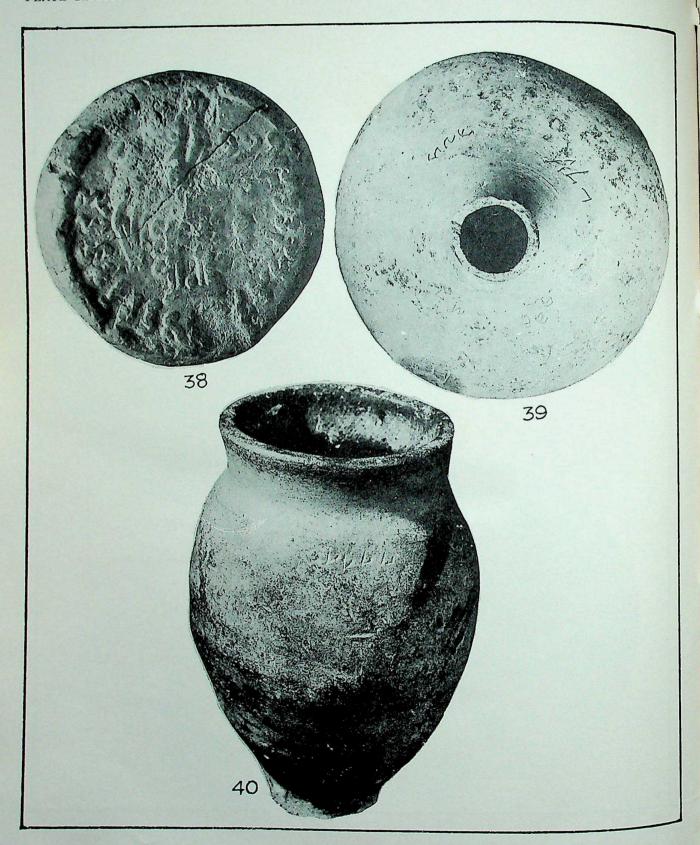
PLATE XXXII



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PLATE XXXIV



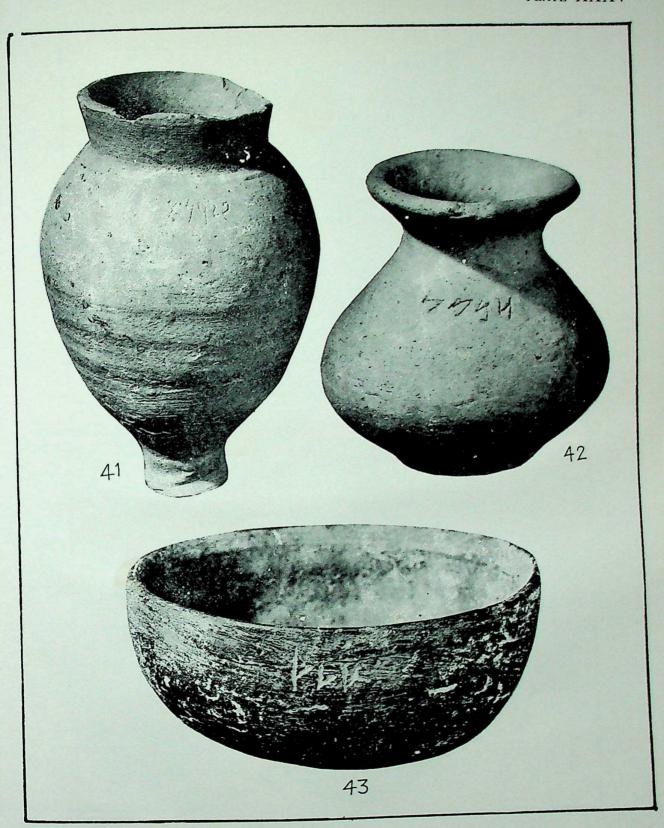
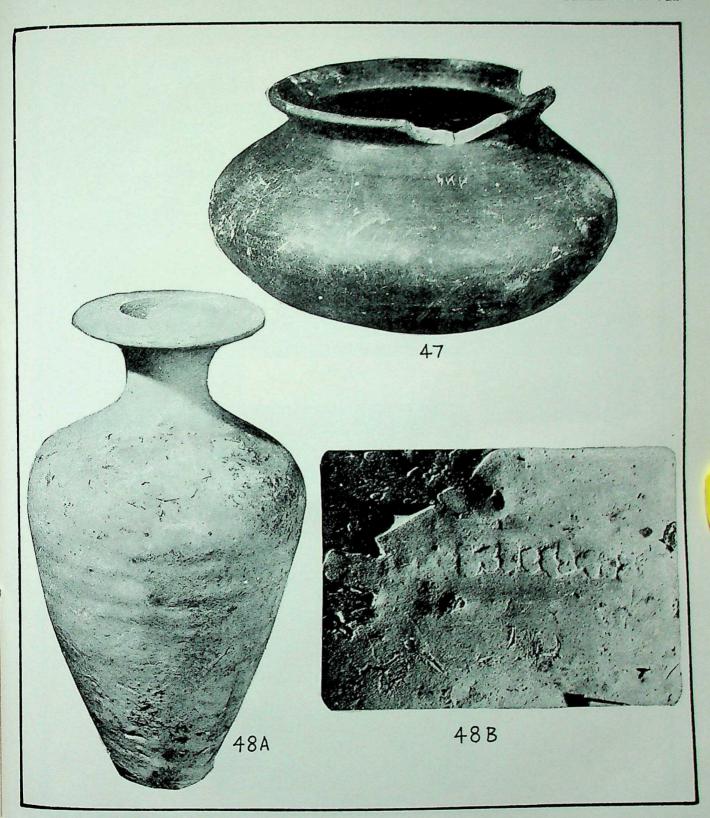
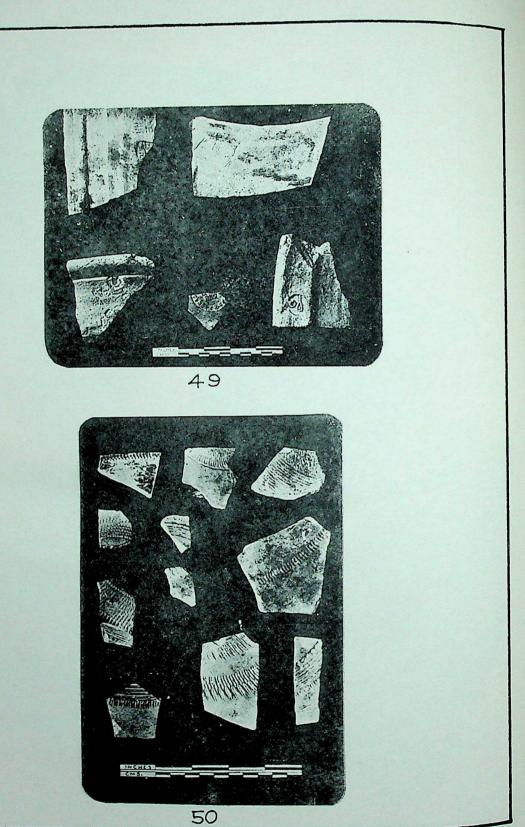


PLATE XXXVI







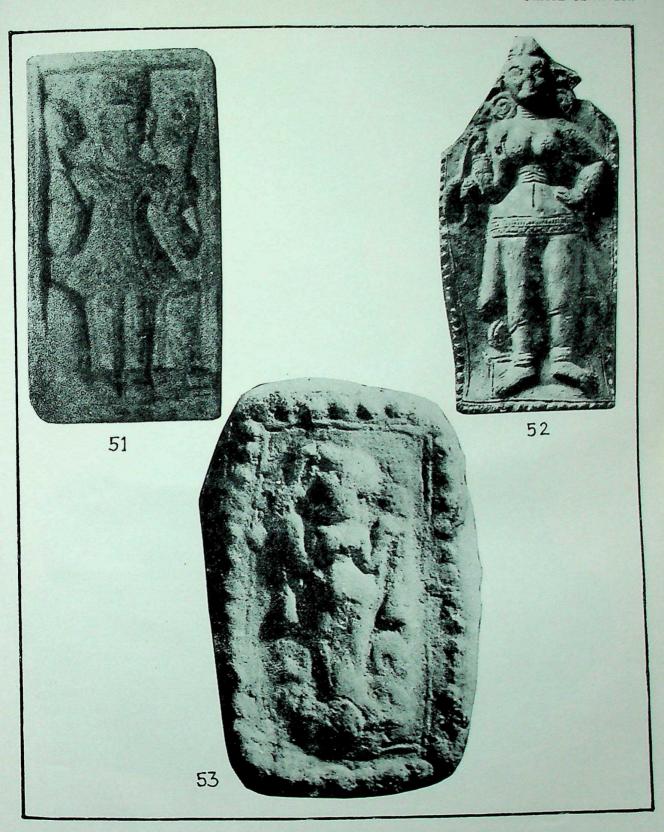


PLATE XL

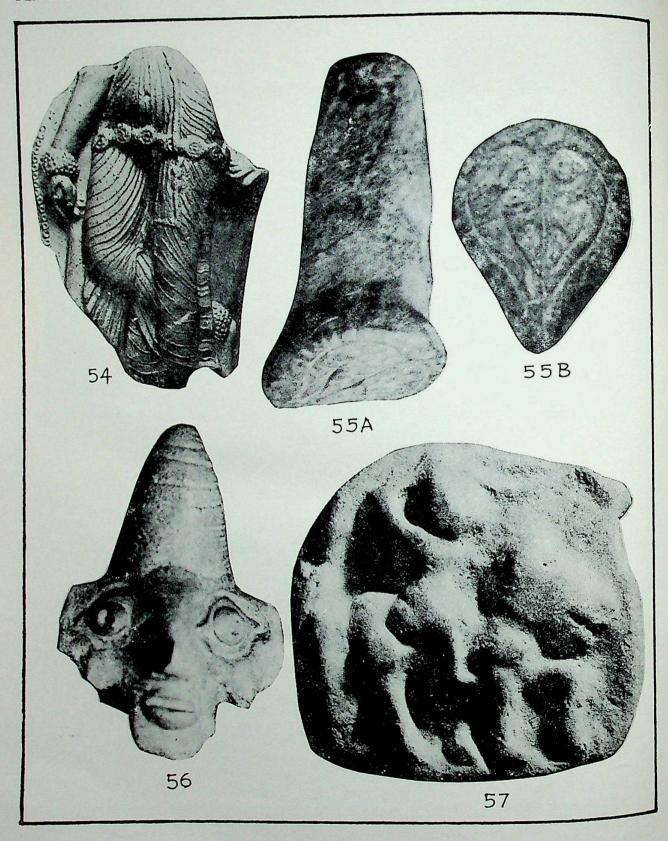


PLATE XLI

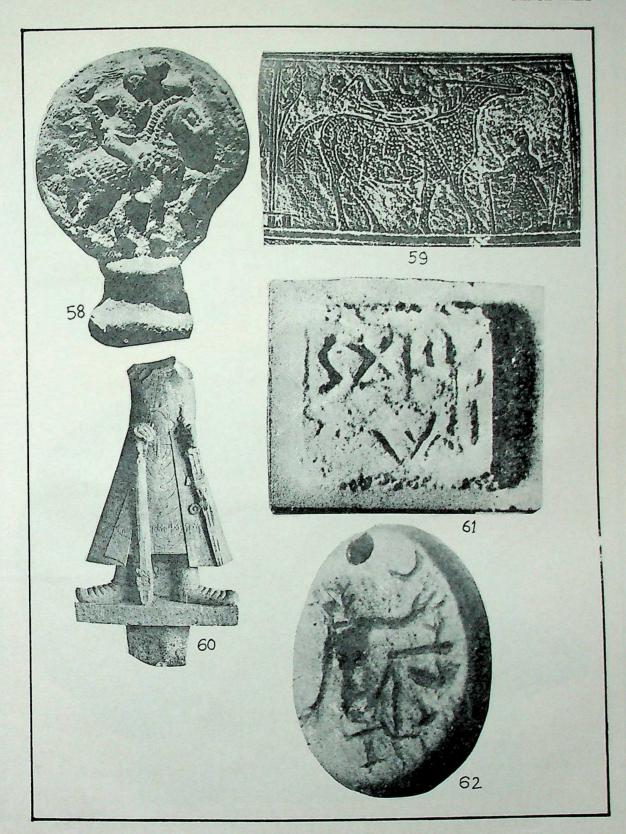
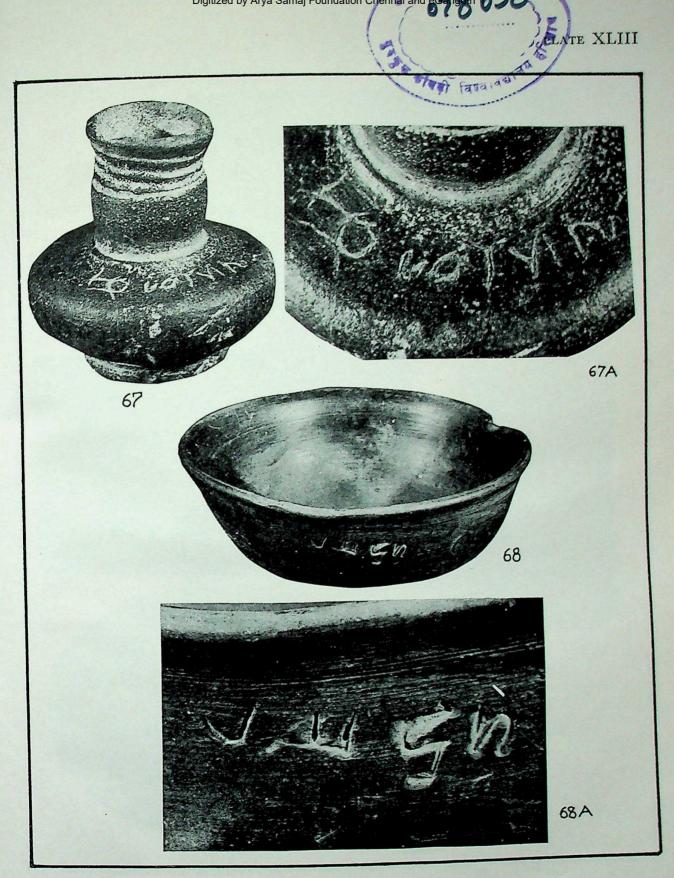


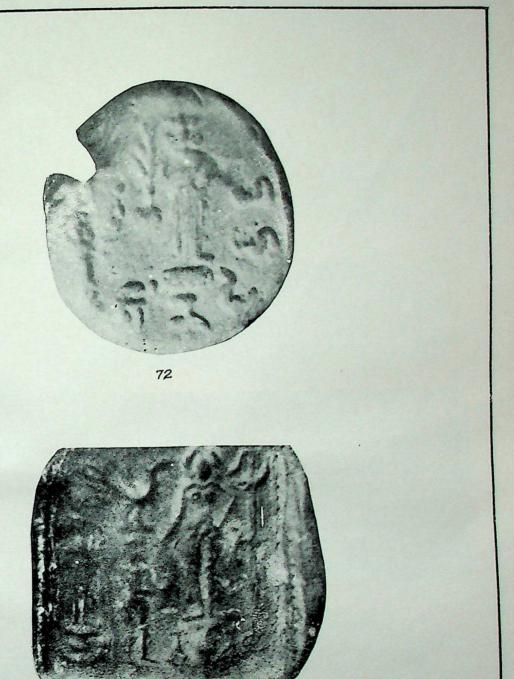
PLATE XLII



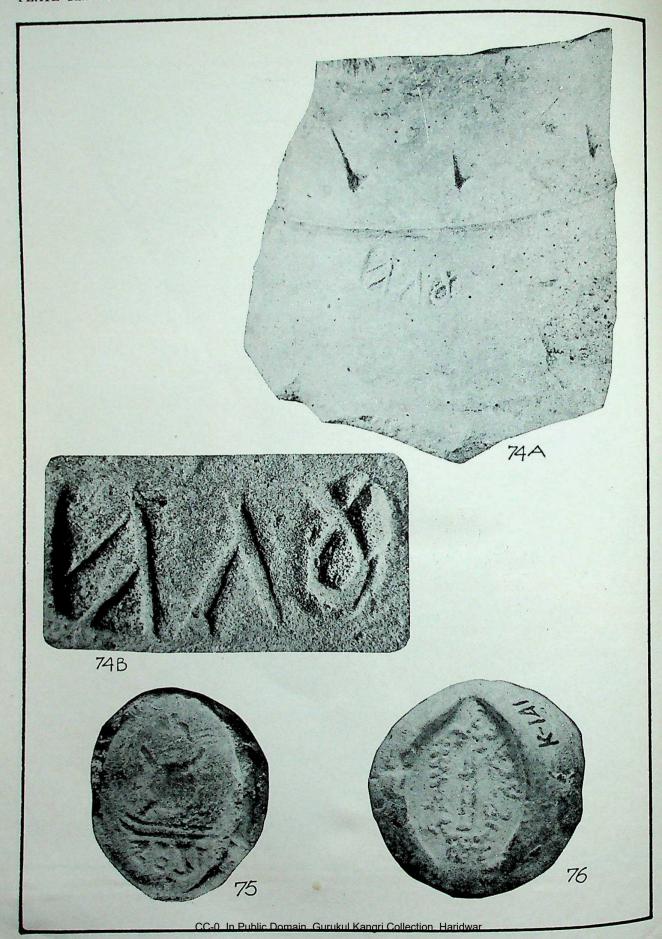
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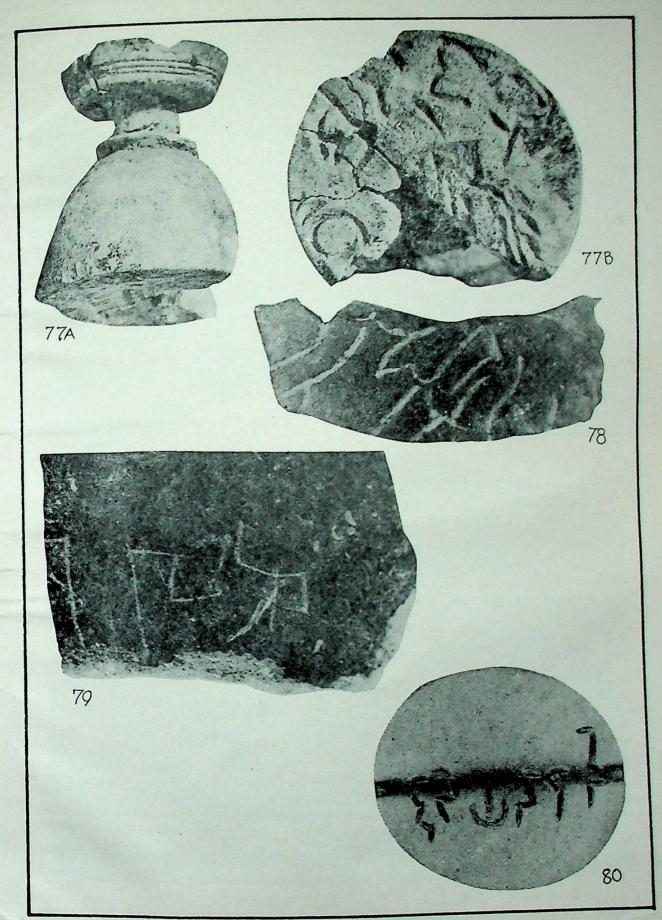


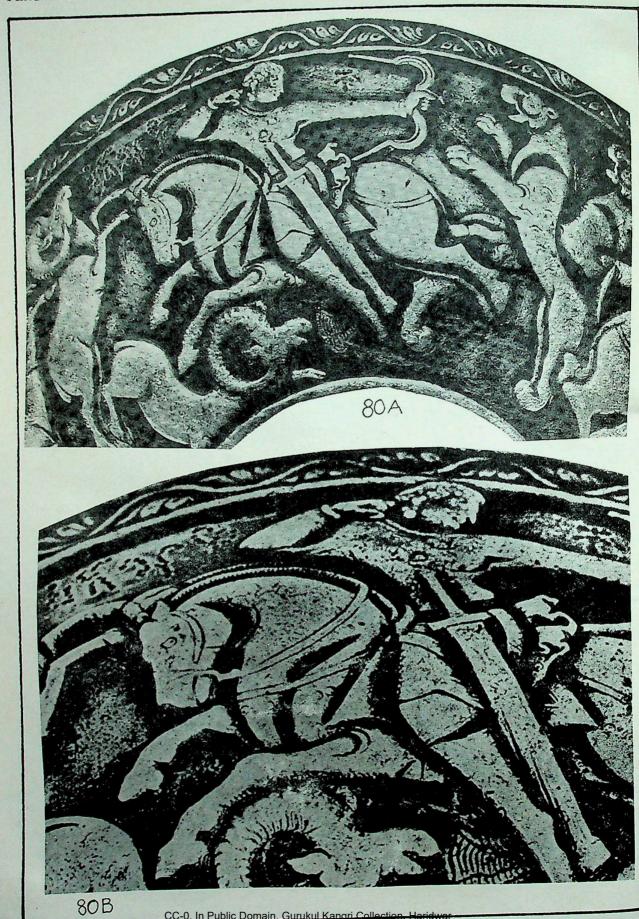




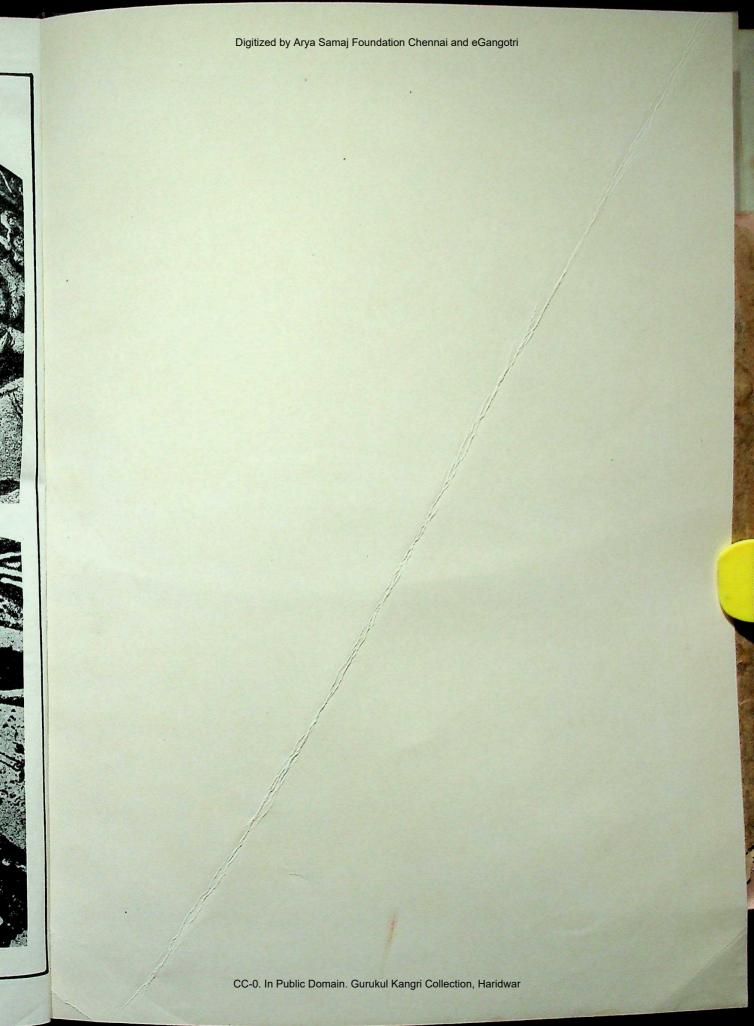
73







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